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ITALIAN PRIMITIVES

AT YALE UNIVERSITY

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see p. 4-7-60-61

Photo. M. Offner

Figure 33
Neroccio. The Annunciation
 Yale Coll. No 63

*PUBLICATIONS OF THE
ASSOCIATES IN FINE ARTS AT YALE*

ITALIAN PRIMITIVES
AT YALE UNIVERSITY
COMMENTS & REVISIONS

BY
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TO
MAITLAND F. GRIGGS

FOREWORD

THE conclusions reached in the essay that follows owe the form given them here to the incitement and bounty of a friend of the Jarves Collection, who saw that with the recent advance of scholarship, the knowledge concerning it wanted bringing up to date.

To accomplish such a purpose, and justify such a claim, completeness has had to be waived in favor of maturity in the individual findings. These have therefore been limited to the problems that have reached a state of solution in the mind of the writer. The proof of the validity of these findings has been so far as possible entrusted to the illustrations, which besides—thanks to the generosity of the same “friend”—reproduce a good deal of fresh collateral material.

The essay, however, does not deal with the establishment of fact alone, but to a certain extent also with the more genial esthetic adventure of the pictures as works of art. Their placing on the wall may be said to have hitherto been temporary, and the difficulty of properly seeing them has, for that reason—to a greater extent than might be imagined—held up a proper esthetic appraisal of them. The comments bestowed on them may, accordingly, prove suggestive where the catalogue, or the conditions under which the pictures had to be shown, have fallen short.

Special thanks are due Mr. Maitland F. Griggs for his generosity and interest throughout the preparation of this volume, which initiates a series projected by the Associates in Fine Arts at Yale University.

R. O.

New York University,

July 21, 1926.

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ITALIAN PRIMITIVES AT YALE UNIVERSITY

COMMENTS AND REVISIONS

IT is an anomaly arising from fathomable causes that one of the great university collections should have become a classic before becoming generally known. The Jarves Collection had for years been a favorite among both specialists and amateurs, by whom it was being periodically discovered—and rediscovered—until it began to arouse the curiosity of its curators. Following a period of more or less distant and unfruitful homage, it was cleaned, furbished up, and, as a final sop to its glory, provided with a learned catalogue.* Nevertheless the collection still remained obscure. The undergraduate, and most of the other tenants of the university, if they heard of its existence at all, suffered the fashionable embarrassment of possessing something generally held in small esteem. And in spite of all that had been done for it, both far and near, it was left to hang in a building in which it was thoughtlessly left to its chances.

This neglect is not without its real reasons. The first is that the collection, which had come to Yale unbidden, was from the first considered determined and complete. Now, to engage the average imagination, a collection must possess one analogy to animate life, it must have something dynamic and progressive about it, it must grow and keep growing like an organism, it must, in a word, be a living thing. In being determined, it forfeited the dramatic adventure and spectacle of living growth, and, accordingly, of living interest.

But if ostensibly dead from the outside, it could not lose the esthetic vitality of its parts, which maintained their deep, and submerged, influence. This influence persisted bravely against certain physical disadvantages, for although, as I have said, the pictures had been accorded the best clinical treatment, they have to this day remained so crowded as to have been left no breathing space. They have not been able to expand to the full limit of their esthetic capacity, and deliver themselves of their individual mes-

* Osvald Sirén, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Jarves Coll.*, etc., New Haven, 1916.

sage; their neighbors, equally eager to address the spectator, press around them and choke their effect. The result is, accordingly, confusing, and only an acute sense of duty or a stubborn attention could wring any pleasure from even so fine a lot of paintings. That it is still possible to do so, however, is as good as proved by their having recently provided inspiration for a change of the deplorable conditions.

The collection contains no world masterpieces, nor again any blatant curiosity to attract the profane or restless interest; it nevertheless possesses distinctions that are both unique and important. For academic purposes it is perhaps the most useful of all university collections for its fairly even distribution of illustrations of three centuries of Tuscan painting; and is more adequately supplied in fine and rare examples of the thirteenth century of this area than any other public museum outside Italy. One need only be reminded that the two great art centers in Tuscany, Florence and Siena, contain a mere handful of paintings of this period, to make it appear the more remarkable that the Jarves Collection should show three scenes from the Passion (No. 1) by an early thirteenth-century Tuscan master (Figs. 1, 2, 3), a Florentine altar-frontal (No. 3) of the middle of the Dugento (Fig. 4), of a type and completeness not to be found within the city of Florence; the unique example (Fig. 5) in such a small scale of a well-preserved Florentine house-tabernacle of this period (No. 4); a Sienese Crucifixion (No. 2) of the second half of the thirteenth (Fig. 26), and a Pisan altar-frontal of the very end of the century (No. 5).

Each of these pictures, so intimately Tuscan in spirit, grave and silent, like a tried conscience, embodies a churchly system that knew itself to be unshakable and everlasting. Artistically this spirit maintains a tradition as unfriendly to change as the dogma of a church, organized for eternity: a tradition of representation formed in the Asia where the terrible intellects of the Fathers raised the first foundations of the Church out of adamantine laws.

The historical moment that follows, sees the most significant revolution in artistic history. The West becoming less dependent on the East, the rigid ecclesiastical control relaxes. Conscience and vision alike become secularized, so that in descending to earth, the austere and immaterial saints assume a physical existence which asserts itself with all the energy of a reaction.

Of this moment there is nothing at the Jarves Collection, as there is in-

deed very little elsewhere in America, not forgetting the impressive examples at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Gardner and Goldman collections; which, it should be added, contain only suggestions of its immediate effect. The pictures that best reflect it here, are like sparks struck from the forge of one of the greatest masters of architectural form, Giotto, and because they are entirely dependent upon this great source of inspiration, they display, more reliably than the more original works of his school, its significant contributions.

With nothing here, then, by Giotto or his immediate circle, the subsequent period deploys in an unbroken series of works, that admirably cover the evolution of Florentine painting down to the close of the century in nearly all of its phases, and in almost every one of its stages.

For the formally Giottesque succession there is the grim *Pietà* (No. 8) of Taddeo Gaddi (Fig. 10), uncheered and unrelieved by humor, but dauntless and direct, solidly bodying forth a mood that is destined to persist, and that in fact recurs in the *Annunciation* by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (No. 21). This line of evolution proceeds to Lorenzo di Niccolò's (pupil of the latter) dry and reticent saints (Nos. 27, 28), who first begin to mellow under the genial influence of Lorenzo Monaco. Whereas the work of these two masters continues the shop conventions of Taddeo, the three saints (No. 20) by an associate of Agnolo Gaddi, Taddeo's son (here ascribed to Starnina), hardly betray in their settled blandness a filial relation between the two.

Two other works, of the more distinguished authorship of Bernardo Daddi and Nardo di Cione, illustrate closely related stages of a special leaning: a leaning away, in the early generations of the Florentine Trecento, from the stark cubism and intellectual idealism of the Giotteschi. These two masters, profoundly affected, the latter perhaps even formed, by Giotto, were by affinities of taste and temperament committed to the influence of the Sienese; and the two saints (Nos. 13, 14) by Nardo (Figs. 7, 7^A)—here wrongly attributed to Orcagna—betray something of the type, the elegance, the line of this school, very few Italian artists knew how to resist. Timeworn and battered, the predella fragment (No. 6) by Daddi (Fig. 6) suggests less in Sienese affinities; but, small though it is, it already contains the germ of the spatial design that revealed itself later to his great pupil, Orcagna, by whom, in spite of the brave efforts of many authors, there is nothing in this collection. Daddi's panel might well stand for the

daintier taste, the miniature taste in the Florentine art of his time, a taste which persists by the side of the sturdier Florentine tendency down to its sad decadence. This is a taste that in the fourteenth century first appears in the St. Cecily Master, and in Pacino di Bonaguida, and passes on through Jacopo del Casentino and Daddi towards the fragile Gothicism of Lorenzo Monaco and Angelico.

The Giottesque obsession rendered the majority of Florentine painters of the early fourteenth century inaccessible to the influence of Sienese art, with works of which, nevertheless, Florence gratefully sanctified her altars. And the Sienese picture to exercise the most benign—though I may add the least external—influence, was, one may guess, the most gracious of all altarpieces, the Rucellai Madonna painted for S. Maria Novella, by a nameless hand—not impossibly Duccio's own—that foreshadows the known works of Duccio. It is Duccio who closes the Oriental Dugento in the West; he was the last of the great Italians to follow the austere traditions of Constantinople; in fact, he paints almost like one of her own. A little diptych (No. 10) among the Jarves pictures, showing a Virgin and Angels in the left leaf and a Crucifixion in the right (Fig. 27), is in Duccio's manner. Both halves manifest, apart from a fondness for a more opaque color and certain crudities of execution, a dependence on the great master so complete, that they might well represent the general character of his school, which in America is further—and abundantly—illustrated by examples in the Metropolitan Museum, the Detroit Art Institute, the Lehman, Ryerson, Blumenthal, Griggs, and Goodhart collections.

Unhappily there is little at Yale that could adequately suggest the direct influence, much less the esthetic savor of the most poignant of all masters, Simone Martini, who is the supreme expression of the Gothic genius in Italian painting. How enduring and far-reaching that influence could be, one may judge from its survival in Neroccio's Annunciation (No. 63), painted about five generations after him (Figs. 33, 33^A, 33^B).

I said there was little, although enthusiastic students have repeatedly attributed the little picture representing St. Martin and the Beggar (No. 11) to him (Fig. 28). While the panel in question has considerable merits, it wants in the quality, and the intimate style besides of Simone's indisputable works.

Painted already latishly in the first half of the fourteenth century, there

is no Sienese picture at Yale falling between this and the Assumption (No. 12), painted about twenty-five years later by Luca di Tommé (Figs. 29, 29^A), who stands for what might be called the Florentinizing tendency in Sienese painting. If he was, as Vasari pretends, a pupil of Barna, his works persistently betray his derivation from Pietro Lorenzetti, whose solid mass has the monumental Florentine manner of breaking into the field of design. In this, as in the radical type, as in his execution, Luca follows Pietro, but in the present Assumption, which is the loveliest of Luca's works, he tempers the Lorenzettian directness by an unforgotten and still active Simonesque sense of beauty.

As a Florentine influence was operative in the Siena of the fourteenth century, so, as I believe I have already said, Sienese painting cast its spell over almost all Florentine painting that was non-Giottesque. This susceptibility to Sienese allurements, by the bye, proves by its tenacity to be equivalent almost to a tendency within Florentine evolution. The Sienese principle, emotionalized line, will be found already in the otherwise Romanizing St. Cecily Master.

It makes its first appearance in the Florence of the fifteenth century, in Lorenzo Monaco, a Sienese by birth, and whose art is a Florentine incarnation of Simone. To this fact his small Crucifixion (No. 24) bears graceful testimony (Fig. 12).

It was this delicately mystical monk and his two pupils, Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi, that held the conventions of poetic sentiment within rhythmic line against the mighty constructive art of Masaccio and Castagno long enough to pass them on to the most inspired singer in line since Simone Martini, Botticelli.

For Angelico's works one would have to go farther north, to the Fogg Museum or to Fenway Court, and while the Jarves Collection has a number of panels in which his transfiguring influence appears, it does so most conspicuously in the least attractive of them, that is, in the three wan and wasted ascetics (No. 31), here attributed to Andrea di Giusto. The same influence haunts a cassone-front (No. 67) representing the Garden of Love (Figs. 13, 14), under forms borrowed from another quarter and, as I hope to prove, not by Gentile da Fabriano's following, but very probably by a discursive, rare, and charming, though slight and obscure, Florentine,

Paolo di Stefano. It is the only work by him—if indeed by him—in this country, and his only one known to me in such small scale.

While Fra Filippo's unctuous humanity may be savored in the Morgan Library, and more or less authentically in the Metropolitan and Fogg museums, in the Hamilton and the Walters collections, Yale University may instead boast a rich representation of one of his most attractive artistic descendants.

This consists of the cassone-panels (Nos. 33, 34, 35, 36) painted in the shop of the most fashionable and finished of all Florentine cassone-painters (Figs. 15 to 22^B), where scores of marriage-chests were turned out for the smartest brides of the day. These panels, because they are in such sound condition, reveal him more adequately here than anywhere else, and furnish, incidentally, abundant material for the study of contemporary manners and contemporary dress.

One can afford to scamp a small scattering of pictures by inferior painters, the scrub that caught root in the shade of the great fifteenth century Florentines. There is little here, it must be admitted,—except as palely reflected in these otherwise insignificant panels,—to illustrate the revival of plastic form a hundred years after Giotto, until we reach the last quarter of the fifteenth century. At its beginning, however, we meet the spirited, space-revealing, pagan Rape of Deianira (No. 42) by Antonio Pollaiuolo—a painting (Fig. 23) that holds within the tightly knit figures a dynamic tension which was not to find complete release until the later drawings of Leonardo. One may say that in Antonio's achievement converges the effort of the immediately preceding periods, which dimly anticipate his awakening to a wide world, full of light, first dreamed by Domenico Veneziano and Baldovinetti. The young Botticelli, whose concern was with the marriage of the feminine principle of singing line to bodily structure, took over from Antonio, along with more radical appropriations, something of this type of landscape as background to his early works. Later, however, he used landscape more abstractly, as accompaniment to the linear melody of the figures: a type of painting barely suggested by a Virgin (No. 50), painted by a follower, who remembered the wistful pose of the Venus, but caught none of her magic.

Botticelli's contemporary, and, in 1480, his rival in the painting of a saint in the church of the Ognissanti, the celebrated Ghirlandaio,—also

the first scorned master of Michelangelo,—is represented in the Jarves Collection by a lovely female head, of which time has left a complete ruin. Of other works of Botticelli's close contemporaries there is little worthy of attention except the ingeniously gay cassone-panel (No. 48) by one of his imitators, Sellaio (Fig. 24).

A more gifted master, and Botticelli's immediate follower, Filippino Lippi, painted a small Christ on the Cross (No. 56) surrounded by night, in which the consciousness of sorrow has begun to corrupt the conscience and the spirit.

It was a far happier chance that brought three of the most exquisite of fifteenth-century Sienese pictures to the Jarves Collection. Indeed, there are but three or four collections outside Siena that can show such a mysterious pair of Sassetas (Nos. 57, 58), a Giovanni di Paolo (No. 59) so impressive, and a Neroccio (No. 63), unique among his works for its subject, of such tenderness and grace (Figs. 30 to 33^B). If by comparison there is a drop in quality in the two Sanos (Nos. 60, 61), they claim a specific historic importance, one of them because it is rare for him as for the period in scale and kind, the other because it is so typically uninspired. They carry, therefore, the shop tradition of his ravishing teacher down the century, and bring us to the waning significance of Benvenuto's flowerlike and maidenly Virgin, inspired by what the feebler Florentines left to be picked up; and finally to the last Sienese picture of Quattrocento traditions in the gallery, the naïvely graceful marriage-plate by Girolamo di Benvenuto (No. 65).

One of the rarest of important pictures in the Jarves Collection, interesting alike for its period and its territory, is the Madonna (Fig. 36) by Gentile da Fabriano (No. 66). It exemplifies the great moment of Gothic efflorescence in painting, in which every considerable European center was involved. Localities as remote from each other as Cologne, Florence, Prague, and L'Ile-de-France obey the same universal wave of taste and feeling—a wave that produced, we may gratefully add, such contemporaries for Gentile to rival as Angelico and Masolino.

Of the vast following of Gentile, who gave all but the initiatory impulse to the painting of Venice and Verona in the early fifteenth century, and who taught a great deal to his own part of the world, there is nothing here. Although he worked in Florence,—on altarpieces that are still largely

preserved to us,—there was little room for his influence there at a time when she was so vigorously creative. The attribution of No. 67 to a follower, which is, as we shall see, by a Florentine artist,—as Wm. Rankin has acutely observed (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 1895),—proves only how pervading the Gothic movement of the time happened to be.

On the other hand, Florentine influence, and the nature of that influence, are evidenced by the small predella by Signorelli (No. 69), from whom Michelangelo is to learn so much; and by the more darkly Umbrian St. Jerome by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (No. 68). But the latter also shows how dangerous such an influence could be when operating upon a provincial genius. The only picture here of pure Umbrian tradition is the pretty but feeble Baptism attributed to Sinibaldo Ibi (No. 93). The same local characters survive in the sweet and watery Bertucci (No. 92), who never gains either in importance or impressiveness by being seen with other primitives.

To return to Florence again and to her early sixteenth-century pictures, the Jarves Piero di Cosimo (No. 72), the sole late full-face female portrait (Fig. 25) by his hand, was painted in an era when a changed way of seeing was keeping pace with a changing world, a way revealed contemporaneously to the Venetians, and come through Velasquez and Constable to the Impressionists.

It was while this new way of seeing was establishing itself in the early sixteenth century that Ridolfo Ghirlandaio painted the Madonna between Two Saints (No. 73) and Granacci his Pietà (No. 74), and that their Sienese contemporaries, like those who painted Nos. 90 and 91 (School of Sodoma and School of Beccafumi), were bringing Sienese painting to a sad and wasted close.

After the great Venetians, this new way of seeing, which is the modern way, supplanted the old Italian way, and great painting took its departure for Spain and northern Europe.

Venetian painting is represented in the Jarves Collection by pictures that are too late even to suggest its obscure Byzantine beginnings and early adventures. In the Circumcision (No. 95)—which calls to mind Cariani's style rather than his name—and in the St. Peter by Girolamo da Sta. Croce (No. 97), we may see reflected a late stage of the abundant genius of Giovanni Bellini, who issues out of a tradition impregnated with Florentine teaching. Venetian painting evolves with his evolution. Its

representative genius, he carries it step by step to the rich and freshly awakened, still dreaming universe of Giorgione and the young Titian. The new vision for which they find such glamorous expression is preceded by an altered view of the world. For the Venetian around 1500, nature is no longer a passive agent, but a response to a glorified animalism, that idealizes and intensifies the whole actual and potential scene of human life.

THERE are in this historical series a number of pictures that urge themselves upon us by their intrinsic qualities as well as by the light they throw on their milieu or period.

Of this number the three panels (No. 1), attributed by Osvald Sirén to Bonaventura Berlinghieri (Figs. 1 to 3), are the earliest in the gallery. Such representations are, perhaps, more bewildering than repugnant to the overworked or impatient modern attention. For they are singularly limited in their content. Not only have the subjects been dictated by ecclesiastical tradition, but the plan and the technique as well. It must not be forgotten that this tradition, which had formulated a minutely detailed system of worship, had evolved also a multitude of pictorial paradigms, of recipes which were adhered to by artistic Christendom with almost the same unquestioning acquiescence as liturgical canons. The force of the past and the prevailing disposition of the time formed by a Church that abhorred change, confined the individual painter to repetition of what went before him. The result was that the objects in a picture became largely diagrammatic, and even the expression was immobilized in conventional gesture, in a certain contraction of the brow and placing of the iris. Without the elementary realism of verisimilitude, the feeling, purified of the pathos of time and place, prolonged and exalted its suggestions. Hence the absence of personal expression, and hence also the gravity and spiritual unction. These three scenes should accordingly be first regarded as the products of an era, rather than of an individual, and of a long and religious past, rather than of a moment.

But when all is said, what refused to lend itself to repetition, the fugitive uncensored features unconsciously set down in the act of creation, were always left lurking in the result to give it its personal note and its peculiar savor. Within the rigid scheme that represents the inflexible will of a dominant ecclesiastical order, lies the mercurial character of the individual

artist. The same kind of personal note alters a given work of music in the interpretation of each performer. Indeed, there is as much personal impregnation in these three scenes as in the work of other periods, only that it is imprisoned within a more formal system of conventions. It is, then, by certain intimate qualifications of the shapes, of the empty spaces, of the types, albeit these have been generalized to geometry, that the three scenes differentiate themselves from some works, and are assimilated to others.

Dr. Sirén has, in his catalogue, linked these panels to the painter of a diptych in the Florentine Academy (No. 175), attributed there to Bonaventura Berlinghieri (Fig. 3^A), who signed an altarpiece in the church of S. Francesco at Pescia. This critic would, in fact, ascribe them to his atelier. Now in the discussion of this attribution it must be first remembered that the *diagram* was more widespread and more tenacious in this than in the more familiar periods; a fact which perpetually subjects us to the error of taking general resemblances for identities. It is, therefore, necessary for purposes of stylistic distinction to reach the esthetic impregnation, the expressive principle within the reigning convention.

It is upon like consideration that I should dispute Dr. Sirén's opinion. The style of these panels is confined within a similar *schema*, but its individuality is too far removed from that of Berlinghieri to allow the closeness of association he assumes, too far removed, in fact, even to hold it within the district of this painter's special activity, Lucca. Bonaventura Berlinghieri's signed altarpiece at Pescia is of a smoother execution and of a milder austerity. The style of the Jarves panels is squarer and more emphatic, of a squareness and emphasis more nearly Florentine.

But if these panels are not by Berlinghieri, nor even Lucchese, they are influenced by him. Some of them correspond in plan, and in certain particulars as well, to the diptych in the Florentine Academy, already mentioned, and to a Crucifix in the Chiostro delle Oblate in Florence (reproduced in Sirén, *Toskanische Maler im XIII Jahrhundert*, Fig. 21), both of his school, and it is in these correspondencies that a relation between our panels and Berlinghieri is admissible.

Indeed, a general relation between Lucca and Florence may be inferred from several signs and sources. The Florence before 1250, to begin with, had not her artistic position of the three ensuing centuries, and although relatively little Florentine painting has been left from preceding periods,

what remains, betrays a partial dependence at least on other centers. On the other hand, what is left of Pisan and Lucchese painting of this period has a uniformly indigenous character.

It would seem, then, that in the twelfth and in the succeeding century Florence drew on other north-Tuscan schools, and to some extent on that of the Berlinghieri; in the second quarter of the Dugento chiefly on Giunta Pisano, and perhaps also on Margaritone. With Coppo di Marcovaldo her painting begins to be reaching her own average level, and a local character, which rises to supreme heights in the divinely tragic Cimabue. It is the assumption, then, of only such general school influence that the style of the Jarves panels really warrants. For the rest they suggest Florentine workmanship.

It is true, and only too evident, that their painter has no qualities so differentiated as to reveal his origins unequivocally. He has been able to convey, for all that, a spiritual seriousness in the action, in the gestures and movements, which, although regarded as estrangingly naïve, seem so only because they want in a certain facile, conventional worldliness. There is a purity of emotion and a directness in its rendering that belong to the great moments of artistic expression.

The altar-frontal (No. 3) representing the Madonna enthroned between SS. Leonard and Peter, and scenes from the life of the latter (Figs. 4, 4^C, 4^E), offers no such dilemmas of placing. It aligns itself more readily within the evolution of Florentine painting, in a group of works that occupies very nearly the entire historical area in the Florence of its time, in the third quarter, that is, of the Dugento; works that, in the aggregate, define the personality of their painter and his range.

We owe the first integration of this master's productions to Dr. Sirén, in his *Toskanische Maler im XIII Jahrhundert* (pp. 264-275; Figs. 98-103), where he brings together a number of panels that lend themselves to an even narrower classification, as of his maturity. The basis of Dr. Sirén's reconstruction is an upright altarpiece in the Florentine Academy (No. 8466) with the Magdalen standing between superimposed scenes from her life (Figs. 4^A, 4^H, 4^{N1}). The works he gathered round this picture are so closely homogeneous that a less close homogeneity in other of this master's works has led Dr. Sirén to regard them by separate hands. Thus, although

he has more recently corrected himself, the Jarves altar-frontal stands in the catalogue as a work of Margaritone.

This, and the small triptych (Fig. 4^B) in the Blumenthal Collection (broadly associated with the Magdalen Master by Van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. I, p. 355; and, I am told, also by Madame Stella Rubinstein Bloch in the forthcoming catalogue of this collection) stand apparently at the head of our master's activity, joined by a third (Fig. 4^D), hitherto unidentified, in the Fogg Museum at Harvard.

The three approximate each other by their solid enamel, by a tightness in drawing and stiffness in construction, by features written large over the faces, and, in the smaller figures chiefly, by goggle eyes and thick bossy noses. There is a relaxation of style in a lordly altar-frontal (Figs. 4^F, 4^G, 5^B) that will have to be regarded as his masterpiece, at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (Pietro Toesca in *Dedalo* for June, 1925, pp. 43, 44, notes affinities to the Magdalen Master without giving it to him), and, in my opinion, also in a Virgin (Fig. 4^K) which perfunctorily repeats its central part, at San Donato ai Torri, Compibbi (near Florence); and in two fragments (Figs. 4^L, 4^{L1}) (rescued some time ago by Comm. Nello Tarchiani from the convent of San Salvi), now at the Uffizi, and originally parts of an altar-frontal of the Paris type.

These two panels carry us towards his fully formed style in the Madonnas at Poppi, Rovezzano, Mr. Acton's collection (Fig. 4^M), at the Berlin Museum; the cited Magdalen; in an unpublished small Virgin (Fig. 4^N), again in Mr. Acton's villa; and in a partly modernized altarpiece in the church of S. Giovanni at Remole (a village east of Florence), in the execution of which he was probably generously assisted.*

The Yale picture, like that in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, is of the fashion of the Tuscan altar-frontals around the middle of the Dugento, one at Sant' Angelo in Vico l'Abate (Fig. 4^O) (south of Florence), and another, the noblest of all, at Panzano in Chianti (Fig. 4^P). Its form is historically suggestive. Painted within a single rectangle, its division in five vertical sections anticipates the Gothic polyptych, and the Virgin and her

* In the fall of 1925 I took Dr. Sirén to see the two pictures at Compibbi and Remole, and although unknown to him before, he thought it his right to publish them first. (See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1926, Juin, p. 360; Juillet-Août, p. 120.)

attendant saints are already beginning to crowd the small scenes at the sides, which the predella is destined eventually to take.

In the Blumenthal picture, which anticipates the next evolutionary stage, the frontal saints are brought down to the feet of the Virgin, where they stand in the symmetrical pose and shrunken scale of the saints in the early Trecento altarpieces by the St. Cecily Master and his school. (See his altarpiece at S. Margherita a Montici near Florence, and a triptych by a follower of Pacino di Bonaguida in the Bandini Museum, at Fiesole, reproduced in *Art in America*, December, 1922.)

But to come back to the painting itself: it is narrowly, technically religious. The central part is like a churchly rite, and the whole spreads like a banner of the Church Triumphant, like a symbol, in its bilateral immobility, of inaccessible godhead. There is no explicit expression, only an ultimate sense of the original Christian fact, the Savior's Passion, and the typical Christian fate, necessity of atonement. But here is also an early appearance of a personal note in the reflected participation in the Virgin's foreseen sorrow, of the Child and the angels; in her gracious recognition of the worshiper. Yet everything tends to pull the representation away from the expressive moment towards general eternal suggestions which are rigidly sustained in the dominant symmetry.

That Dr. Sirén saw the affinities between the small triptych (Fig. 5) in the Jarves Collection (No. 4), and the altar-frontal just discussed (Fig. 4), may be inferred from his attribution of both to the same atelier. Thus far he was probably right, but he went too far in supposing this atelier to be that of Margaritone. The compactness of the modeled material is Florentine, a conclusion reached also by Van Marle (*Italian Schools of Painting*, vol. I, pp. 365, 366). The more insinuating grace of the line, pattern, and pantomime recall the contemporary Siennese paliotto of St. John (Fig. 5^A) at the Siena Academy (No. 14), and Siena generally in the round moulding; but the type of the Child, the hands, the crushed ears, the round eyes, the type of the Crucified (see Fig. 4^B) confine the picture to Florentine territory, and to the general milieu of the Magdalen Master, whose epigraphy our painter followed in the minutest particular.

With so little left to us of this period, this precious picture—which time has jealously spared of so many contemporary works lost in the strenuous productivity of subsequent generations—affords an early view

of the Florentine susceptibility to Sienese romantic grace. The Magdalen Master himself suggests some exposure to the same influence, as evidenced especially by his ingratiating sentiment and gracile architecture (Fig. 5^B). There are certain, if only fugitive, analogies in him to the St. John altar-frontal in Siena, and to the polyptych by Vigoroso in the Perugia Gallery.

Relatively early in the evolution of Italian painting, this group of pictures stands at the very end of a long development in which East and West vainly did their best to fuse their incongruous types of genius and culture, and in which the western genius for solid form, as old as and older than the early peninsular Greeks, began to reassert itself.

The Dugento, however, still represented a figure without cubic density in a space without cubic depth (like the medieval artists of the Near East and of Asia Minor), almost as immaterial as Oriental visions of a holiness too dazzling or exalted to be beheld by human eyes. These figures are accordingly as bodiless as they are forbidding in their detachment. They hover between heaven and earth by the grace of a surly, sublime, immovable Jehovah, who was to become—sooner than might have been expected—the meek Franciscan Christ of the West. With such a bias, the style of these Dugento panels is a sort of consecration of the surface, to which, by a fine instinct or respect for the flat, the representation remains true. But all the while the hieratic East was refashioning the character of Italian painting, the Hellenic tradition of form was maintaining itself on Roman ground, by its stubborn indigenous materialism. This gradually brought the figure down to the earth again, the earth with which it finally established a reciprocal relation. The seemingly sudden appearance of sacred personages upon solid ground between the closing of the thirteenth century and the waking of the next, is thus the reestablishment of an old tendency, the artistic rediscovery of gravitation.

The Florentine susceptibility to Sienese allurements was temperamental and therefore continuous. A bare decade, or a little more, after the painting of the panels just discussed, in 1285, the Dominican Church of Sta. Maria Novella commissioned an altarpiece from Duccio, now hanging in the Rucellai Chapel, whose inaccessible beauty must have exercised an influence which we can only surmise from the relatively small number of extant contemporary Florentine paintings. This susceptibility becomes rooted in the Florentine subsoil, and persists against the energy of the narrowly in-

digenous painting. Hence the reason why so many Florentine pictures have been going under Siennese names until Cavalcaselle's day, and, indeed, until our own. It is not so long back that the delicate diptych in the Historical Society in New York (identified by Mr. Rankin as a work of Daddi) was confidently regarded a Simone Martini.

But the Rucellai Virgin was not the only Siennese painting before the eyes of its own and the succeeding generations. One need only recall the Crucifix by Simone, to this day preserved at the Misericordia of San Casciano (see De Nicóla in *L'Arte*, 1916, fasc. I, pp. 1 to 6); the dismembered altarpiece by Ugolino, painted for Santa Croce; Pietro Lorenzetti's panels at the Uffizi, at Santa Lucia, and his works for Santo Spirito; and his brother Ambrogio's presence in Florence between the two authenticated dates, 1319 and 1332 (see De Nicóla, *Bollettino d'arte*, August, 1922). And all this is only a part—the most important part, it may be—of Siennese activity in Florence.

The Siennese influence in Florence in the early fourteenth century was, however, peculiarly limited, and what the Florentines were capable of assimilating, reveals the nature of their genius quite as much as their deliberate attitude. If they understood the supreme Siennese achievement, intensification of form through line, the most imitative of them remained in general only slightly affected. Where they did not imitate a specific Siennese posture or pattern this influence passes lightly over them, for what is regarded as of Siennese origin is often only what one might have seen in the Florentine sculpture of the time; and perhaps the Siennese influence amounts chiefly to a disposition for, and a refinement of, Gothic elements which Siennese painting had previously absorbed from the North by a closer affinity of taste. Even the long narrow eye, with a gliding glance, the time-beguiling play between Child and Mother, are motives the early Trecento Florentine saw in stone images everywhere about him.

The combined influence of Gothic sculpture and Siennese painting is not enough, however, to explain Daddi, the most Gothic of all Florentines. He is formed by another tradition, the tradition out of which his elder and greater contemporary, Giotto, issues, and which has its origin in Rome. This tradition he might easily have met with first in the shop of the Cecily Master, who painted with the Romanizing artists on the St. Francis cycle in the Upper Church dedicated to this saint in Assisi. In fact, Daddi may have

begun in the shop of this very master. The type and allure of his figures conform to the Cecily Master's models as they appear in his two pictures at the S. Margherita a Montici near Florence, and in the S. Cecilia altarpiece at the Uffizi.

The betrayal of that influence is in his fragile figures and his dainty hands,—in his smaller painting chiefly,—of which there is still a shadow left in the damaged, repaired, but exquisite little composition representing the vision of St. Dominic (No. 6) in the Jarves Collection (Fig. 6). It contains the same poetic piety that reappears a century later in Fra Angelico, and a feeling for the alliance of figure with the flat plane towards similar spatial harmonies.

Related to Daddi, but more explicitly Giottesque in derivation and in technique, is a painter whose works have not hitherto been identified in the Yale Collection, namely, Nardo di Cione. Like Daddi, he discovered the Gothic temper suited to him, and it was in Gothic sculpture he found the rounded, modulated cheek and the half-covered iris as a basis of his type. The frescoes of the Strozzi Chapel at Sta. Maria Novella (which Ghiberti, as early as the middle of the fifteenth century, first attributed to him) furnish us with the source for the knowledge of this master, whose paintings have been grouped together in *Art in America* for April, 1924. It is by conformity to the Strozzi Chapel frescoes that the two figures of St. Peter and the Baptist (Figs. 7, 7^A) in the Jarves Collection (Nos. 13, 14) profess Nardo's authorship, and as I have discussed this attribution in the article cited, I shall not stop to refute the only dissenting voice, that of Dr. Van Marle (*op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 468), who still claims them for Orcagna and for "his most mature period." Dr. Sirén, who gave them to this master in the catalogue, now orally admits them to be by his elder brother. I shall only say that these pictures are so typical of Nardo that no one who will trouble to carry out a comparison between the Jarves panels and the frescoes can entertain the now heterodox opinion.

With the gorgeous Historical Society altarpiece and the exquisite triptych in the Goldman Collection, America possesses the choicest of this master's panels.* They disclose a romantic temperament tinged with a deli-

* A third panel with similar claims has recently passed into the collection of Herschell V. Jones of Minneapolis. (See Richard Offner, *Studies in Florentine Painting*, Fig. 7.)

cate mystery, which he was the first modern artist to seek in the modulations of the face and the insinuation of the eye; a type of expression as old as the Praxitelean head in the Boston Museum (where it appears more explicitly than elsewhere in Greek works). That it maintains its mood and suggestions as late as Leonardo da Vinci proves how strong and persistent local tradition was in the Renaissance. His figures have the sensitive shyness and restlessness of wild creatures, with a heavy languor in their manner; and are in all but their superficial appearance profoundly disparate from the sublimely stolid personages of Orcagna, who seem to stand beyond the touch of time.

But while the erroneous attribution to Orcagna may be said to rest, however insecurely, on shop affinities of the two brothers, the small Adoration (No. 15), also attributed to Orcagna, has only the slenderest relation to either (Figs. 8, 8^A). At the moment of its painting the great tradition was sensibly languishing, and left only a shadow of this master in the type, and a much debased sense of physical substance, in the figures. The lower ones alone retain a certain resemblance to him. These, indeed, are so much more solid, so much more nimble in movement, that one might assume a superior hand for them, but for the betrayal of similar weaknesses in the drawing of certain parts, which urge rather the conjecture of imitation.

The separation of the works of the two brothers, and the differentiation of their discrepant types of genius, ought to lead to a clearer view of their influence in Florence, and also of the position and orbit of other prominent personalities of their school. Of their immediate circle, however, only the third brother, Jacopo di Cione, has so far been isolated. He is recognizable in a number of paintings, which recent publications have so indiscriminately mixed with irrelevant ones that his outlines have become blurred. As with the rule of lesser masters only the distance at which students have held themselves from him has made him so difficult. He has taken, according to his less considerable gifts, what he could from his two elder brothers, and formed a style which, in spite of collaborations, appears in its greatest purity in the Uffizi St. Matthew, in the large polyptych and the Crucifixion at the National Gallery, both attributed to Orcagna, and in the Coronation in the Florentine Academy.

The authority of these works eloquently denies the three panels in the Jarves Collection (Nos. 16, 17, 18) to him. No. 16 I believe to be by some

follower of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini; No. 17, The Nativity and Resurrection, is by some obscure Florentine eclectic of the end of the fourteenth century; No. 18 wants in the grace of Jacopo's smaller painting, and is the work of someone in his circle.

So far, then, the works which authentically reflect the genius of the Cione atelier are the two saints by Nardo di Cione. But there is just one other painting here (No. 19), a Christ and the Madonna Enthroned with Angels (Fig. 9), which is correctly given to a master of this circle, Giovanni del Biondo. The two panels containing saints at the Pinacoteca Vaticana may, as Sirén suggests, be the original wings to this. The humility and the grace of the two principals in the Jarves panels—qualities to which Giovanni was not born—have been assimilated with other habits from the Cione shop. The departure from the rule in the poses of the figures is probably of Nardesque origin, and will be found at the top of his Paradise in the Strozzi Chapel. And the narrow eye of the Virgin, her gentle touch, are from a similar source. Nevertheless Giovanni is here already well along towards his slipshod maturity, when his derivation from the Cioni ceases to be as patent as in the earliest work by him left to us, the polyptych at the Florentine Academy (Figs. 9^A, 9^{A1}). (The identification in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler Lexikon*, vol. XIV, p. 111, of an out-and-out Ugolinesque Sta. Verdiana—reproduced in *Rassegna d'arte*, 1909, p. 159, as part of the 1360 documented altarpiece by Giovanni—adopted in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 519, cannot enjoy long or serious credit.) Here the date, 1364, by eight years earlier than the earliest previously known, accounts both for the tight technique, and the close family resemblance to Orcagna.

The chiaroscuro of the Academy altarpiece, which merges the lower lid in shadow, and gives prominence to the cheek bone, the singly drawn filaments of the hair, the ears, the hard enamel, the entire shell, come out of the single painting attributable to Orcagna, the altarpiece in the Strozzi Chapel. The head of St. Peter might well have served Giovanni as the model for the high priest, and the drapery of Paul, with its sharp lights, for that of Joseph's mantle.

As Giovanni, then, painted this altarpiece in the lifetime of his master, the Jarves picture is probably later by some ten years, and very nearly contemporary with the dreamy Virgin (Fig. 9^B) in the sacristy of Sta. Felicita in Florence, where, moreover, the same gorgeous brocade is similarly hung

behind the figures. The Jarves Giovanni del Biondo stands at the last ebb of a magic that passes with the living influence of his teachers.

The lyricism, the reticence of the sentiment, the attenuation of the forms, set Giovanni's tendency apart from that of the simon-pure Giotteschi. In these, expression is rather a sort of dumb stir in the structure of the solid mass, a human touch conceded by its abstract force. There is no qualification or refinement, the mass declaring itself starkly as formal energy.

Where impassioned action is required, it is rendered with grim directness, as in the *Pietà* by Gaddi (No. 8). Unhappily the effect produced by the composition (Fig. 10) varies from the intention of its author, because the panel has been cut down, but the rhythmic unity so penetrates the whole that the original limits are not missed. The mass of the figures, their thoughtless expression, give them the air of things that are and have been in mute communion with the universe since its beginning, and are, therefore, in its secret. There is a great deal of fundamental faith, of conviction in the unmindful clumsiness of the figures. There is something in them also of the original stolidity of matter. Human emotion in this context, accordingly, takes on a special significance, perhaps because it seems to transform something older than humanity, antedating its superficial animation, and something sealed with its own mystery. The vague, crude sense of that mystery haunts the small number of mourners, their brute bewilderment, and the dark cross that divides the solitude.

The large polyptych (No. 22), the only complete altarpiece—but for the missing *predella*—in the collection, is genial in its prettiness and interesting in its problems (Fig. 11). It is still very largely in the Trecento traditions of mental and spatial disposition, although the convergence of attention in the lateral figures on the center anticipates the typical undivided fifteenth-century altarpiece. The sentiment, the mould of the heads, the hair, the hands, the soft drapery reminiscent of Nardo, are due to some extent to the survival of his tradition in Lorenzo Monaco. The color, the decorum of the figures, lead one along the same line of conjecture to Agnolo Gaddi, Lorenzo's master, whose influence around 1400 was extensive and almost exclusive in Florence. Certainly the pink flush on the white cheek imitates the flowerlike sweetness of Agnolo's Virgins. As our painter was by nature an eclectic he did not stop here. In his light and shade and in his type he occasionally recalls Giovanni dal Ponte.

Dr. Sirén has attributed this picture to Ambrogio di Baldese, who, according to a written contract, collaborated with Niccolò di Pietro Gerini on a façade-fresco of the Bigallo (Fig. 11^A). Now, the different works Dr. Sirén ascribes to this name are held together by stylistic features belonging in many instances to a single master, but that this master is the Ambrogio of the fresco is a daring conjecture.

It is easy enough to abstract the part Niccolò had in its painting to determine the character of his collaborator. Similarly documented collaborations in the history of Florentine painting almost invariably proclaim a single hand. The rule of collaboration is twofold: either it is an assemblage of parts separately executed; or else, if two masters work upon the same portions, one provides the design and the other carries it out in color. In the latter case, which is doubtless also the present,—if we must believe the document,—the executant adheres to the position and gesture of the figures in the design furnished him, but his execution transforms the result with his own personality. In fact, the design can never be so detailed as to determine the final appearance of the painting, and even the general air, the pose, the explicit suggestions of pressure, weight, and tension within the structure are altered by the brush. This is so generally true that even in instances where the executant is an assistant—whose style is formed by the master of the shop, and who uses the master's palette—his intimate stamp is left on the resulting work. How much more true, therefore, of a collaborator with a different training and a distinct shop tradition.

As the Bigallo frescoes, then, are to the first and to the last scrutiny clearly not by Niccolò, they would logically be by Ambrogio. Making some allowance for Niccolò's share, the style betrays a single and an independent hand, which Dr. Sirén contends is the same as that of the Jarves picture. But though the partly abraded condition of the fresco makes this and the opposite claim difficult of proof, a conclusion is, nevertheless, possible. In fact, the only reason for urging an identity of hand is a certain similarity in some of the female heads; for the rest, the analogies of structure, weight, movement, pantomime, belong to the whole period which was saturated with Agnolo's teaching.

Oddly enough, it was Agnolo who must be regarded as one of the teachers of the generation to come. The only painting here to represent his manner, the Three Saints (No. 20), is so like him as to reduce the probability of

the authorship surmised (with caution it is true) in the catalogue. On the other hand, the color is too raw, the types are too pinched and timid for Agnolo himself. To attribute it for such reasons to Starnina is to obey a fatal principle. Agnolo, who was an abler teacher and business man than he was artist, had a large number of assistants about him, and one of these, who had for the present better remain anonymous, carried out this trio of saints for his master. The gentleness, the shrinking delicacy, are among expressions here that in Agnolo himself charmed his contemporaries. It is exactly what won them to such faithful and poverty-stricken imitation.

Something of his lyricism and his type survives in Lorenzo Monaco. Sienese by birth (see Sirén, *Lorenzo Monaco*, p. 13), limited and special in his appeal, it is to the seclusion of his calling that Lorenzo owes the maintenance of his intimate qualities against the energetic encroachments of the typical Florentine painting.

How vigorously assimilative a great center could be, is demonstrated by the power it had of very nearly effacing the national characteristics in foreign artists. To take the most prominent instances, the two masters of two successive centuries, Antonio Veneziano and Domenico Veneziano, presumably of Venetian origin, betray but the vaguest, and then only fancied, trace of their native character; and a Marchegian contemporary of Domenico, Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino, although he arrives in Florence in full maturity, all but forfeits his identity to the lure of Angelico and Masolino.

Lorenzo, however, retains the essence of Sienese tradition in its purity, even if his work shows nothing of direct Sienese formation. He seems to have come into the world with a taste akin to the great Simone, which found visible and more effectual instigation in the Gothic sculpture around him, than in the painting. From his teacher, Agnolo Gaddi, he absorbed only what suited his temperament and helped him to form his vocabulary. His moulds are, therefore, Agnolesque, as might be expected, but his emotion is more concentrated, more intense in its reticence, and more acute in its expression. In the Jarves Crucifixion (No. 24) the line sings only to render the calm more complete (Fig. 12). The rocks lend weight to the composition and a lightness to the soaring cross; they hold the figures within their masses and isolate the Christ in the deep space behind Him.

The gold, as in primitives generally, gives out suggestions of light and

distance that do not belong to definite time and place; and here it concurs with the dominant mood of the figures to produce a sense of eternal waiting and eternal dawn.

Lorenzo Monaco reestablishes a linealism in the painting of the fifteenth century, which continues in his pupils, Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi. A survival of the early Sienese Gothicism of Simone Martini, it lasts as late as Botticelli. It is no accident that the adherents of this style in the Florence of the fifteenth century were all religiously-minded. It is natural to the religious temperament to turn back in pious longing—and especially in the present instance, when the new style of Masaccio accorded with a substance so different—to an earlier mode of expression, and to one so well suited to the rendering of emotion. At the same time the recovery of line was itself in the nature of a revolution, just as the contemporary movement headed by Masaccio was. The pious humanism of Lorenzo and of his school at once reacts against the graceful profanities of the Gaddi, and furnishes a fresh melody to the languishing song of the late Trecentisti.

On the other side, rooted in traditions more narrowly and deeply Florentine, stand Masaccio and his followers. There is nothing in the Jarves Collection to adequately illustrate or epitomize their mighty accomplishments. There is, however, a panel (No. 67) that originally faced a marriage-chest, which, although it adheres only to the externals of his teaching, betrays, nevertheless, direct derivation from him (Figs. 13-14^A).

This secular genre called for free invention, for gay episode, for everything that was missed or regretted in the monumental altarpieces and frescoes with an enforced religious content. No longer bound by venerable conventions, the artist's fancy was challenged and liberated by subjects which had no prescribed way of being composed or represented; and working, moreover, on a scale in which the small size of the brush bore a closer proportion to the scale of the objects in the picture, the result was no longer the mechanical affair it had been, and continued to be, in larger works. As in the predella, the performance came nearer to writing and the artist saw the story flow under his brush.

It was customary that these chests, which were presented to the bride, should display scenes appropriate to the occasion or to the taste of the affianced. Drawn from legends and romances, they took the fancy through situations of the heart's desire, through gay pageants flaunting fine dress, and

flattered it with open paradises, with glad loves; or with sad ones moved to pity the people who dreamed in walled cities and in dim interiors.

Our panel illustrates a contemporary romance in three scenes. The first opens on a party of young people dancing on the green. Over them flies the god of Love, whose shafts have just struck into the hearts of a youth and a girl on the left. These are seen facing each other in a sort of dazed rapture. The period closes gracefully in several couples of lovers. The second scene is in the Garden of Love, with classical instances of interrupted amours scattered through it, and with Cupid enthroned in mid-air like Jove, over the Fountain of Love, that has drawn kings and ladies, and Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, the three great amatorial poets, to it. The two protagonists have just entered the stone gateway, followed by what would seem to be the guardian genius of the young woman (Fig. 14^A), the same that sat at her right at their first appearance. And the final scene shows the melancholy close, with the lady drawing out the shaft and returning the ring to the youth, who, with his hands crossed, maintains the adoring attitude produced by his first sight of his beloved. He is finally left yearning after her with outstretched arms, but she rides away in a chariot drawn by snow-white hinds, like those of Diana's car, vouchsafing him only a glance, while he is left to mourn her alone in a glade.

Out of the common, on a small scale and on wood, this kind of narrative already existed in frescoes three generations before, which are still to be seen in the "Novella della Castellana di Vergi," at the Davanzati Palace, and in the still earlier cycle in the Communal Tower at S. Gimignano. The story is told in the spirit of the prose which it translates into a picture. There are no formal flourishes, no lyrical exaltation, nothing in the tale that does not belong to the telling of it, to the smooth unfolding of the events themselves. There is as yet none of the adolescent idealism with which the fifteenth century sighed for the antique. In its homely directness, in its intimacy, in its ingenuous symbolism, in its tender closeness to life, it is still quaintly medieval. It is of the Renaissance in its classic machinery, in the conscious elegance of the style, and in the personal note, even if the light, the freedom, of the antique have not yet reached it.

It was Wm. Rankin's discernment to place and properly appraise the panel by giving it to a "first rate hand, distinctly Florentine" (in the *Journal of Archaeology*, 1895, II), and to recognize in it twelve years

later (*Burlington Magazine*, 1907) a "follower of Masaccio." It is, on the other hand, a condonable, if unjustifiable, error to give the picture to the painter of the predella in the Johnson Collection (Nos. 124-127 of Mr. Berenson's catalogue), as Dr. Sirén does, because it is more than likely that the latter is the work of a Florentine, and one who worked close to the painter of our panel. Both, moreover, owe a great deal to Masaccio and demonstrate the debt in a similar measure and manner. The attribution to a follower of Gentile da Fabriano is, if incorrect, equally intelligible, because our panel contains attributes of this period, which more than any other shows smaller differences from school to school. Nevertheless, the attribution is untenable. Gentile's *chiaroscuro* had a greater *sfumato*, his drapery is more rhythmic, his accent is more *trainante*, and his style intrinsically more euphemistic.

Taken all in all, the carriage of the figures is singularly Masacciesque. There is an easy relation between the parts and a settling of the total weight which our painter admiringly imitated from the great master. The architectural details are Florentine, and Florentine is the form of the fountain, the studied perspective, its sheets of light and dark, the streaks of the moulding, the veining of the marble. And not Florentine alone, but in every particular of shape and rendering un-Gentilesque.

The light-colored leaves, petals, and arrow-headed grasses mottle the dark ground in a way known to Angelico, Fra Filippo, and Baldovinetti. The soft golden hills under a deep blue sky recall the first of these. But it is the types, the shapes of the heads, and their psychological saturation that reveal the Florentine. The heads are often diminutive repetitions of Masolino. One has but to recall the two turbaned youths in the Raising of Tabitha in the Brancacci Chapel (Fig. 14^B); or the Banquet of Herod (Fig. 14^C) at Castiglione d'Olona, to account for the derivation of the lovers at the left, of the figures dancing the round, of the youth facing outward in the gateway—to take only the obvious instances. The sunny-haired heads call to mind the angels in Masolino's Assumption in Naples, or those attending God the Father or the Christ of the Baptism, in Castiglione d'Olona.

Considering the discrepancy in the scale of the works, these analogies carry only limited authority. They confine our painting, nevertheless, ex-

clusively within Florentine territory, within the circle of masters whose influences are deposited in it.

Now it is to this very circle that a personality belongs, whose works the Yale panel approximates more closely than any other, and that is Paolo di Stefano. On the basis of his two signed frescoes in Florence—one a Virgin with Six Saints in the Church of S. Miniato (Fig. 14^D), the other a Crucifixion in the Convent of S. Apollonia (Fig. 14^E) and of two Saints farther down the same church (an attribution surmised by Schmarsow) (Fig. 14^F); and of a lunette at the above convent (see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in Italy*, ed. Murray, 1911, vol. IV, p. 33); I recognize his hand in the battered fresco on the façade of the SS. Apostoli (Fig. 14^G), Florence; in a small Madonna with angels in the tabernacle in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, No. 557 (ascribed conjecturally in *Rivista d'Arte* for 1905, pp. 250, 251, to Parri Spinelli);* in the frescoes† of the small oratory of S. Maria della Querce; in the large tabernacle at Castello (Figs. 14^{H1}, 14^{H2}) (both near Florence); in an Annunciation (Fig. 14^K) at the Berlin Museum (No. 1136); in SS. Cosmo and Damian in the Pisan Duomo; and in a partly repainted Madonna and two Saints in the Cappella Medici at S. Croce. It is more than likely he had a share in the painting of one other work, at Castiglione d'Olona. Paolo's characteristics appear in some of the scenes in the life of S. Lorenzo on the walls of the choir in the Collegiata there (see P. Toesca, *Masolino da Panicale*, ed. Arti Grafiche, Bergamo, 1908, illustrations pp. 31, 33). On the other hand, I feel obliged to reject one or two attributions made to him groundlessly, and somewhat tentatively in *Vasari* (ed. Sansoni, vol. II, p. 266), and by Sirén (*Catalogue of Loan Exhibition of Italian Primitives*, New York, 1917, Fig. 17). His admissible works profess the resourceless eclectic, overtaxing his invention, borrowing on all hands, and exhibiting a limited if personal genius in the aggregate of his whims and preferences.

The radical influence of Andrea del Castagno runs through all these works, but the large fresco at S. Miniato professes it most unreservedly, both in externals and in stylistic habits. Thus the architectural frame with

* In the *Burlington Magazine*, 1926, p. 123, Dr. Sirén attributes it outright to this master.

† As this essay goes to press, I recall that Prof. Pietro Toesca spoke of these frescoes as by Paolo, as far back as 1920.

pilasters right and left—Donatellesque in origin and taste—probably comes out of Castagno's Last Supper. The perspective of the tiled floor may likewise derive from him (see his single figures of worthies in S. Apollonia). The fall of the stuff and its color again betray the same source, while the drapery of the Virgin is taken from Donatello's Evangelist in the Florentine Cathedral, and the St. James apes the same sculptor's St. Mark at Or San Michele.

It is, however, as an imitator of Masolino that Vasari (ed. Sansoni, vol. II, p. 266) knows him, if Paolo Schiavo, the name under which he speaks of him, be indeed our painter.

The grounds of my presumption that the Yale panel is by Paolo di Stefano are, by the nature of available evidence, perforce slight and inconclusive, but they lead persistently to him. Thus far, especially if we reckon with Vasari's testimony, there are Masolino-Masacciesque characters both in the Jarves panel and in the body of Paolo's known and lost works. The significant resemblances, it is true, are both scattered and fugitive. However, the stylistic discrepancies which meet the eye at first glance, may be explained by a difference in scale. Large paintings are produced by an aggregate of material conditions so diverse from those that govern the production of small ones, that even where their authorship is the same, their differences are not easily reconcilable.

The small brush used in covering a large surface necessitated a technique both slow and mechanical, and the individual stroke bore no relation to the resultant shapes. In miniature painting the ratio between the brush-stroke and the shapes represented was more nearly equal, each stroke became a visibly integral element of the final form, which, it will be easy to see, brought about a swifter transmission of the artistic vision. The movement is more fluid, the expression quicker. This point conceded, the disparities between the small-sized figures and the large ones in Paolo's works are after all no greater than the disparities between the Jarves panel and his other paintings. It is these small-sized figures in his works that furnish the strongest liens between them and the Jarves panel. The heads of the cherubs, for example, in the Berlin Annunciation are round, full-faced, and have the curved chin and the expression of the flying cupid and the two music-makers in the trees in the Jarves cassone-front. And the modeling shapes them all to the same type and to a similar meaning.

But the Jarves panel contains analogies to the larger-sized figures that are as persuasive, if less obvious. Thus the profiles in the former cut the same silhouette and have the same look and proportion as those of the S. Apollonia frescoes. The tousled hair, the short-fingered hand, the long folds of the drapery, will also be found there, with only such differences as might be anticipated for reasons already broached.

Finally, the Yale panel scatters mental suggestions in kind and degree of intensity akin to the group ascribed to Paolo. Only the superior inspiration of the former, the absorbing illusion, the charm, might give us pause, endangering the security, such as it is, of the suggested attribution, not so far, however, as to nullify it. It is conceivable that some super-Paolo of a finer grain may be responsible for it. On the other hand, it is not imaginable that our painter was some obscure furniture-decorator. This craft was, in the main, distinct from the art of monumental painting, and the scores of names and shops mentioned in documents maintained a practice and an evolution tributary to the main stream of artistic development. Most often of modest pretensions, the furniture painters are craftsmen whose aims are not to be confused with those of known masters. In the case of the Garden of Love, however, we have the work of an able, gifted and even distinguished artist. Its painting should fall around 1440.

Another, the following generation, produced the four panels numbered 33, 34, 35, 36 (Figs. 15-22). The catalogue wisely warns us against supposing them to be by a single master; but by tending to make them the work of a single workshop, it anticipates what must be the conviction of anyone acquainted with the style of the panels and the milieu in which they were painted. The catalogue (following Hülsen, *On Some Florentine Cassoni*, etc., British and American Archaeological Society, Rome, 1911) further declares, and rightly, that these panels are related to the master of the Virgil Codex at the Riccardiana in Florence (see d'Ancona, *La Miniatura Fiorentina*, ed. Olschki, Florence, 1914, pl. LXXV, LXXVI; Schubring, *Cassoni*, ed. Leipzig, 1923, pl. XLVIII to pl. LXVI). If this be true—and I think it undeniable—then our panels come out of a shop that was beyond question the most prolific and fashionable, in its time, for this species of luxury. Scornful of drama and of "illustration," it gave you more than your money's worth in gay variety of episode, rhetorical in action, and animated by figures magnificently turned out. It was a firm most obliging

to its clients. It refused no commissions, and offered them as rich an assortment of subjects as they could well desire.

What is, however, of particular interest is that the activity of this shop does not seem to have restricted itself to furniture and miniature painting alone. It accepted commissions for religious pictures as well. This is, I think, established by the existence of a small number of Madonnas, which an essential analogy of style joins to the panels here.

One of these,* the most charming and workmanlike, is in the Fogg Museum at Harvard (No. 30). It shows a Virgin standing behind a Florentine balustrade over a group of four music-making angels (Fig. 22^c). In the catalogue the picture is attributed to the school of Giovanni Boccatis, with the all too appropriate qualification of a question mark. But the color and the paste of the pigment are alone enough to draw it towards the Jarves panels. If the execution in these is crisper, more emphatic, more constructive, it is because the scale is small, and because, consequently, the brush-stroke is an evident and integral element in the total shape, and also because the execution is conceivably by a lighter hand; admitting which, the conventions that underlie all the five panels are of the same shop.

The flesh of the Fogg Virgin is of a warm, creamy whiteness enriched by a solid vehicle. The hair is straw-blond and the lips are heavy with vermilion. Such is the complexion also of the figures in the Yale panels. And the color of the architecture is in the grays and lavender that the whole group of panels owes directly or indirectly to the Masacciesque Fra Filippo. The heads and their shape will be found to vary only as shop productions on a single master's design might do among themselves. The predominant type is wide-faced, with a sharp chin, and with an expression that tells in all the examples the same history of intimate experience. The upper lid is level, the eye tends to steep itself in feeling, and the mouth is soft and of a ripened fullness. The wide cheek and square jaw of the Fogg picture will be found *passim* in the Jarves panels. The broad-torsoed anatomy of the Child is identical with that of the wreath-bearing putti in the Meeting of Solomon and

* Another panel closely resembling this I should like at the last moment to join to the same atelier, namely, a Virgin and Angels, Planche XXVII of the Toscanelli Catalogue, there attributed to Domenico di Bartolo. The present whereabouts of this picture is unknown to me.

Sheba at Yale (Fig. 21, 22), and suggests imitation of Castagno's putti from the Villa Pandolfini, now at S. Apollonia, Florence.

It should be clear from the first glance that the genius of this shop was a painter brought up in the immediate tradition of Fra Filippo, and more particularly in the following of his pupil, Pesellino. Most of Pesellino's stock in trade of shop-formulas are to be found in our pictures (Figs. 22^H, 22^K). The eye is set in the same socket, the iris is charged with the same memories, the heads are built on the same bony structure and the same system of light and shade. The disparities in our panels, due to the emphasis of certain externals, like the cheek bone and the jaw, are the exaggerations of the imitator. And so in the action, while Pesellino spaces his figures in accordance with Masaccio's principles, the master of the Jarves panels likes to crowd them; and, concerned as he is with a decorative scattering of interest, rather than with dramatic concentration, he schematizes also the gesture and the expression. Such differences apart, the derivation of the aforesaid shop is indubitably from Pesellino. To derive him instead from Uccello as the catalogue has done (p. 87) is a misconception that may be accounted for by the presence in both Uccello and the Jarves panels of certain contemporary characters, which, in a compact community like the Florentine, were generally shared. And the early date, *ca.* 1450, to which the catalogue assigns these cassone-fronts, is an error, in part, doubtless, resulting from the false derivation. A pure guess based on general considerations would put their painting after 1460 and perhaps even as late as 1470. Although this is already the period of the early bloom of the great masters of the second half of the century, one expects a retarded evolution from an art that is one-half at least a craft, and that consequently is not artistically initiatory. We have already seen, in fact, that the style of these panels is in a great measure derivative. Besides, the evidence of the larger spatial conception, the developed perspective, the ease in the bearing, the articulation of the crowds, the costumes, all favor a later dating.

Admitting that the Jarves and the Fogg panels and the Virgil Codex indicate the central activity of a distinct shop, it is possible, I think, to suggest its range by the addition of other works. Of religious panels there are two others* that are drawn into this milieu. Of these the ones which most

* No. 25 at the Museo Civico in Pistoia, representing a Crucifixion and Saints, is very closely related to this shop.

closely approximate the Fogg Madonna are, a somewhat demurer Virgin with discreeter angels, in Mr. Berenson's collection at Ponte à Mensola (a resemblance noted in the Fogg Museum catalogue), another, sold at the Tolentino sale as a Pier Francesco Fiorentino, recently passed from the Florentine dealer, Bellini, to Mr. Murphy of Los Angeles (Fig. 22^D). All the three display a similar lapidary anatomy in the Child, similar types, similar crudities, and similar charms. With this last I should like loosely to associate two cassoni in the collection of Lord Lascelles (Schubring, pl. XXX).

The department of furniture painting in this shop was so prolific as to be baffling. One meets with cassone-fronts stamped with its style in almost every museum, disguised, it is true, under a variety of designations; and America alone boasts a considerable number. To those already known and properly classified I shall add the most important that have fallen under my notice. I should say that Schubring in his *Cassoni*, misled by iconographic preoccupations, confuses the Dido (Virgil) Master with the Cassone Master and others, besides failing to recognize the former in a number of characteristic panels.

London. Victoria and Albert Museum.
Room 107.

Oxford. Ashmolean Museum.

Boston. Museum of Fine Arts.

New York. Miss Helen Frick.

Florence, collection of Ernst Saulmann.

Cambridge (England). Fitzwilliam Museum.

Presentation of Gifts (left) and a Dance
(right) (No. 5804).

Acrobat Performing (Fig. 22^E).

The Murder of Caesar (Fig. 22^F).

A Triumphal Procession (Fig. 22^G).

Solomon and Sheba.

The Return of Ulysses.

The Siege of Carthage (No. 63).

Triumph of Aemilius Paulus (see *Burlington Magazine*, December, 1925, pp. 281, 282; and 282, n. 7).

Another secular picture, The Rape of Deianira (Fig. 23), attributed to Antonio Pollaiuolo (No. 42), carries secular painting to a more evolved stage. It is the completest and most satisfactory picture in the Jarves Collection. It is the richest in suggestion and interest, and the most concentrated dramatically. Historically it is also the most important. It embodies that moment in the evolution of painting when it had already largely freed itself from ecclesiastical conventions to become a vehicle of individual ex-

pression in a modern sense. It initiates a new genre, in which a dramatic episode is isolated, not as in older or other contemporary secular paintings, as illustration, but for its special mood, for its inner message. Larger than the run of such paintings, it is not a decoration designed merely to animate a dead surface, but is to be taken in like a poem for its direct meaning. By isolating a single episode, one dwells on it rather for its mood than reads it for its story. This isolation of an episode for its mood is, I believe, a creation new to the epoch. But in its essence it is not the mere representation of an episode either. The landscape must occupy the attention at least as much as the figures; it is, nevertheless, no more an episode in the landscape than it is a landscape dramatized by human action. Indeed, it may be said the rousingly imaginative and dramatic landscape rises to a more concentrated degree of intelligibility and specifically dramatic form in the action. The rushing stream, the marked contrasts in the nearer planes, the broken, billowy rock shapes, the sweep of panorama, yield a sum of suggestions that recalls Rembrandt and Rubens. This dramatic foreground is the site of the action, which, though it occupies the entire width, draws the figures towards the sides, where they are held within the landscape silhouette. This terminates in the two looming masses left and right—between which the river sweeps one inward—that recede in even symmetrical convergence to the distance, where they meet and close in the confining hills. The arrangement is bilateral and determinate, with the exception of the nearest foreground, which runs out of the picture towards us with a boldness unprecedented in Renaissance painting.

The episode presents the instant when Hercules, realizing that Nessus is making off with Deianira, gathers all his energies into a single effort. There is a tension in his figure at the right, and a release at the left in Nessus' leap, as in two stages of a consecutive movement. This causal relation between two elements of the action ties it together by something more essential than its meaning. It is on this upward leap and within a twinkling that the arrow will strike home.

Beyond, is the wide amphitheater and within it the drifting perspective of the narrowing river, the meander of the streams and of the highways, and of the diminishing masses of trees placed at calculated intervals. The drama of the eventful foreground is resolved in a general harmony and in the deaf and sun-drowned distance.

Part way down the perspective lies the city of Florence huddled round her cathedral. It was no strain to the Quattrocento mind, prepared by fourteen Christian centuries of supernatural visions, to fancy such mythical episode possible outside the very gates, somewhere in the half-miraculous freedom of fields and woods; and while there is already a historical consciousness in the painting, there is also a naïve sense of actual fact in the manner of representing it. It was, accordingly, not the Renaissance belief in myth that allowed its actuality, but the Renaissance love of life; not the paganism of a sophisticated fancy, but the paganism in its blood. The episode of Hercules and Nessus was not painted as a formal classic *motif*, but as something the Renaissance really would have loved to see happen, and its remoteness from the walls of the city measures a certain delicate consideration of scientific truth the Renaissance individual had begun to feel, as well as his notion of the myth's poetic probability.

The subject ceases to be merely a pretext, although it is through it that the master identifies himself imaginatively with another world and enters into its secret. The subject summarizes a whole *Anschauung*, and he chose it accordingly as an epitomizing expression of it. The centaur, transported by sensual passion, the soft Deianira, the taut body of Hercules, enact their rôles with a certain impersonality and moderation. There is a minimum of sentimental or mental comment in the pantomime, much less any sense of dramatic imminence. The figures are conceived together with the landscape, and are felt as concentrations of certain forces of nature just as Antonio's Apollo and Daphne (Fig. 23^A), in London, one of the purest visions of the Renaissance, has the air of a fugitive embodiment of divine passion in a pantheistic universe. The story is not darkened and desolated by somber romanticism, as in Botticelli, for example; it has not the literal paganism of Bartolomeo di Giovanni, nor again the animalism of the Venetians. It is rarefied by the clear light of an intellectualism that is characteristically Florentine. In that sense, too, it is truly classic.

But if classic in spirit, it is classic also by inspiration, and it is more than probable that subject and composition alike are drawn from a classic prototype. Here is an example of an inchoate historic sense—unlike Mantegna's pedantic archeology—which chooses a Roman sarcophagus as its model for its greater authenticity. Hence also the nudity of the figures.

But nudity satisfies a formal interest in Antonio as well. By rendering

visible all the bodily participants of movement, the organic structure, its binding ligaments and muscle, Antonio reduced the body to its essential elements. By coördinating the parts in a single tension he concentrated its force, and by bringing this tension into causal relation with the movement he heightened its formal and its dramatic significance (Fig. 23^B).

The style, with its peculiar suggestions, is that of one of the great masters of the world. But with it is involved an execution due, at least in part, to other hands, and which, together with the damaged state of the surface, slightly puzzles connoisseurship, suggesting the problem that the landscape, evolved beyond any other in Antonio Pollaiuolo's panels, might owe its altered effect, in some degree at least, to the transfer of the picture from panel to canvas, to ill-use through the ages, and to modern repairs. But from the character of certain particulars unaltered since its painting, one may safely assume that the general effect is of the original conception. So that, although parts, particularly on the left, were painted by his brother, Piero, the picture is Antonio's creation.

One of the great initiatory geniuses of the Renaissance, Antonio owed his notion of form directly and indirectly to a great predecessor. Donatello's teaching had long been woven in the texture of Florentine evolution. It was he who filled a sense of formal coördination with implications of an organizing will, though in him the body is almost always in a state of relaxed preparedness. But it was Domenico Veneziano among painters who seems to have drawn face and body to a single expression. He first reduced the body to its motor essentials. See, *e.g.*, his Baptist in S. Croce (Fig. 23^C). Here the tight-clutching line rhythmically unites the muscle and the bone, rendering the form at once as function and as solid, which it contains and defines at every point. This type of drawing becomes Antonio's inheritance. The landscape, a flat plane, crossed by meandering threads of road and water, Antonio owes probably to Baldovinetti; but in his atmospheric suggestions and shifting shadow, his textures of rock and water and vegetation, he borrowed from his younger contemporary, Verrocchio.

A goldsmith and sculptor originally, the few marvelous paintings he left, (Fig. 23^D) seem to have exercised less influence than his drawings. The examples of Signorelli and Botticelli are the most obvious and the greatest objects of that influence, but it wandered far from home to Umbria (think of the S. Bernardino series in the Pinacoteca at Perugia) and to Siena,

whose artistic stock, growing thinner and thinner, continued to sustain itself to a considerable extent on Antonio's inspiration.

The mention of Baldovinetti gives me the opportunity of rejecting the attribution to him in the catalogue of No. 41, which is by a Veronese master (see Mr. Berenson in *Dedalo*, 1925, pp. 602, 606), and also that of No. 37 to a follower of his, the Carrand Master. Identified by P. Toesca, *Rassegna d'arte*, 1917, pp. 1-4, as Giovanni di Francesco, this painter is an offshoot of Domenico Veneziano and Baldovinetti with traces of Uccello, and with an almost Ferrarese arbitrariness of vision. He is whimsical, tight, restless, whereas the hand that painted No. 37 is, on the contrary, loose and heavy.

It would seem that from Pollaiuolo onward secular painting, which draws in large preponderance on classic legend, maintains a sense with which he had first looked upon the world, and a light his genius had first thrown upon it. In other respects, with rare exceptions, secular painting continues in the tradition of running narrative, a tradition which long antedates the adaptation of classic motives. And it evolves its conventions of representation a little behind the evolution of monumental painting.

The landscape in the generations that follow, is lost in less calculable distances in a light fainting under the heavier atmosphere, and this vision of an outer world seems made of the same stuff as the dream of the ancient world. One is pagan in feeling, the other is pagan in its associations, in its incident. It is the new paganized vision that now becomes predominant, and the Madonna whom the masters of this epoch seat before a landscape, is of another kind of holiness.

To understand this moment it is necessary to remember that until now Italian painting had adhered to a single mode of seeing. By this mode it was not a raw record of what it saw scattered about in the world, but a conversion into natural shapes of experiences of mass and pressure in bodily life. It is peculiarly Italian to entertain these experiences with an extraordinarily sharp consciousness, with energy and coördinative tension. In his early training the individual painter learned how to effect this conversion by first copying his master's drawings or cartoons. He thus came to possess himself of a vocabulary of formal expression, instead of inanely repeating the shapes of nature. And as he advanced, he came really to be setting down

memorized images, which, in the artistic process of creation, became gradually saturated with his own personality, and stamped with his own vision.

But the formal consciousness sees more dimly and generally than the physical eye. It simplifies and classifies its shapes in the course of assimilation. It seizes upon what it regards as their essentials and sheds or rejects everything else. It is thus that early Italian painting came to visualize a given object in terms of its generic boundaries, its delimiting planes and its contours. And it is the mnemonic effort to hold the image that drew such a prominent outline round it. This explains why some Italian painting as late as the sixteenth century continues so essentially linear—even with so plastic an artist as Michelangelo. In the very highly intellectualized art of Florence the subtler medium of line at once defined the form and rendered its physical substance. And the means used to externalize such form was a fine brush which built up the image stroke by stroke against a flat surface, leaving the figure sharply defined in plastic isolation, concentrated, and complete, in itself.

With Leonardo da Vinci, however, the intellectual vision described above merges with optical vision. The individual form forfeits its isolation, and begins to be seen in its natural environment as an element in a world that flows before one's eyes, a world manifold, shifting, and varied like the restless ranging eye in which it is reflected.

From a world that was essentially static we pass into one that is fluid and dynamic. The whole spectacle diffuses and deepens into space. From an absolute, formal world we are transferred into a world in which every object depends for its appearance on its position in the picture: if near it will be clear, and less distinct as it moves away from the eye behind multiplying layers of atmosphere. Its look is no longer wholly determined by the degree of intellectual force with which it was conceived, but by the light in which it is seen. Such a world, such a vision had to be met by the more fluid medium of oil and by a large brush that could set down what the eye saw theoretically as quickly and as fluidly as it beheld.

In the so-called Sellaio (No. 48) the landscape (Fig. 24) becomes a more active element than in earlier painting, with the details individualized and affording light and space to the figure, without, however, seeming to exert a power over it. It seems already to be inviting a more enterprising humanity to fresh and unheard-of adventures.

Like the *Mona Lisa*, the *Lady Holding a Rabbit* (Fig. 25) by Piero di Cosimo (No. 72) swims forward out of a vanishing distance in a soft, gently changing light. The plane of the face and the body envelop the shapes according to the way the light strikes them and not according to an arbitrary formula. Nor does the outline confine the form in its ultimate image, but as a chance boundary or edge that may be assumed to change every instant with the fancied change of our position.

The evolution in each of the self-determined centers in Italy demonstrates a deep-rooted loyalty to an indigenous genius, and in the central stream of Florentine art one will find a steady consciousness of solid structure organized to movement. Out of this physical fact issues the meaning and the emotion. But Florence is also the most intellectual of Italian cities. Her form is penetrated with a logic, its coördination declares itself with the firmness of logic. Yet this arduously thought-out consistency is but the cruder manifestation of an intellectual light that shines—or is at least reflected—within every one of her works.

It is this principle of reason within a tremendous energy that bestows upon Florentine works immediate significance and ethical meaning.

When we pass over to the Sienese pictures in the Jarves Collection, we find that if Florentine painting presents a cosmic idea or emotion, they show its effect on the soul. Sienese emotion arises in her greater sensibility, in a certain overtension, rather than in the unsettling of some central order. It is to centuries of the cult of the Virgin that the Sienese owed this feminine quality, as it was no doubt thanks to this bias that the Virgin received such passionate devotion at their hands. Whereas the Florentine world is a man's world, and its emotion is latent within a masterly will, there is almost always something ecstatic about Sienese art, and even where there is no action, the figures often harbor a contained ecstasy akin to the Greek. They were, on the whole, rather Hellenic in their taste. Avoiding distortion even in the expression of violent emotion, though it often reaches the pitch of Antigone's cry, it never becomes intolerably acute. Feeling is instantly absorbed in an immanent linear rhythm, in a general linear harmony.

As Giotto is the supreme Florentine type, the most concentrated expression of Sienese genius is Simone Martini. It is by the emotionalization of

rhythmic line that he initiates the great period in the evolution of Siena's painting.

Before him Duccio, the most sublime of artists, was as Byzantine as he was Sienese; and Guido, Siena's dominant thirteenth-century figure, issues out of an august obscurity, in which the greatest heights were certainly never reached, towards a style that is narrowly limited. The name of Guido has been used in recent literature to cover a formula rather than to confine a personality. This is due largely to the conventionality of his expression, which makes it difficult to hold him within boundaries that would exclude the work of his followers.

It may be that, because, like so many of his contemporaries, he mixed his work with that of his assistants, only certain isolated portions reveal the master. And these conceal under a cold temper a very exalted idea. I shall single out the Transfiguration in the Siena Academy among all his works for a spiritual purity to be met with again only in the rarefied and reticent soul of the Far East.

The gable-shaped Crucifixion (No. 2) in the Jarves Collection (Fig. 26) involves all the difficulties—as well as his peculiarities—on which attributions to Guido repose. The shape of the panel is especially suited to the subject of the Crucifixion and to the concentration of the action. It recalls Greek pedimental sculpture in more than its shape and arrangement, but the assimilation of the drama in a symmetrical design, of individual action to rhythmically formalized pose and gesture, produces an effect essentially Sienese.

The odd squareness of animate shapes and composure of animate life; the straight small noses, the narrow ears, the schematized bulk, and facial expression, are of a variety that belongs indubitably to Guido's shop.

The central portion of Christ, Mary, and John is grandly spaced and solidly composed in a symmetry that determines the scene and makes the remaining figures seem like the resonance of the main action. The collapse of all resistance of life in the graceful limpness of the Crucified isolates Him in the scene, and grants Him a specially tender note of humanity, while the verticals of the Cross join it to their like through the entire composition.

Duccio's *Maestà*, now at the Opera del Duomo in Siena, finished in 1311, continues the traditions of this little masterpiece. The evolutionistic gap between the two masters is so slight that the large lapse of time, still main-

tained by some critics between their periods, dwindles to a single generation and no more. Duccio, a master more completely endowed, possesses himself at a leap of all the genius of his age, but he closes an epoch rather than initiates one, as did the younger Simone, who was more of the age to follow.

But, for the first half of the Trecento, Duccio exercised a profound influence, which is barely reflected in the diptych (No. 10), and different in kind from that of Simone, which is in the small panel (No. 11) representing St. Martin and the Beggar. Properly considered, though certainly of minor importance, each of these pictures, determined and limited by the influences under which it was painted, lights up its tracks and its environment. The purely esthetic differences apart, the diptych (Fig. 27) has the hieratic formalism of Duccio's own Madonnas with the same touch of scarcely betrayed tenderness in the filial relation. The St. Martin panel (Fig. 28), on the other hand, belongs to the dramatic tendency of Simone Martini, wherein the impassioned emotion is converted into harmonies of rhythmic line. The way the action is knit together by an eagerness in both figures is one of the innovations by which Simone changed the complexion of Sienese painting, and by which all Simonesque creatures seem to have a quicker throb and subtler senses. That the painter is Lippo Vanni has been divined by Mr. Berenson. (See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1924, p. 282.)

Luca di Tommé's Assumption (No. 12), the handsomest Sienese picture (Fig. 29) of the fourteenth century in the gallery, continues and reflects still another, the third current within Sienese evolution. The style of the body of Luca's works solidly derives from the Lorenzetti and from Pietro more particularly. It has something of the unattenuated bulk of this painter, which gives a special kind of weight to the starkness of his dramatic expression. The type, too, is Pietro's, that heavy type with unfathomable passions drowsing behind a shy look—a type that Luca could not forget. In the Yale picture the inalienable Sienese grace and a feminine temper bring the whole thing down to human terms and to human scale. The Assumption becomes an exclusively female function (at least until Our Lady reaches heaven), full of fluttering attentions in the angels for the new celestial guest, who, like them, enjoys rosy health, a rich holiday wardrobe, and a smiling confidence in their devotion. Nevertheless, the composition maintains a formal churchly order, a tripartite division, a detailed sym-

metry, and suggestions of the direction of the destination of the figures in the emphasized verticality of the lines and the compartments.

Although Luca is a much more homogeneous personality than recent opinion would make him out to be (see Perkins in *Art in America*, 1920, pp. 287-291; and in *Rassegna d'arte Senese*, 1924, p. 14), he has in single instances risen to much more impressive heights than in the Assumption, but he is never again so graceful, and so coherent. With all his limitations, he stands with Andrea Vanni at the top of the middling achievement in Siena on the declining slope of the century.

At the beginning of the next we meet with two masters who have re-absorbed the essence of Simonesque teaching, and, recognizing their province, have woven their poetry through dainty waking worlds seen down a multitude of fresh vistas. They made an exquisite Renaissance of their own, vital in its essence and vital in its influence. They are both—Sassetta more than Giovanni di Paolo—the most romantic masters in Siena. But of the two the former has a more limpid and penetrating genius. Neither of them has the ethical consequence of their Florentine contemporaries, but like almost every typical Siennese, their works give off a kind of perfume, a pungent sweetness in their spiritual atmosphere, which the Florentine scorned.

There is a certain air of remoteness from reality in the small scale of Sassetta's most typical works. But if the fortunes of these small people and their dramas seem to lack in importance, there is a lyrical poignancy and a lyrical consistency that replace it. Sassetta is one of the most exquisite and delicate poets of the Renaissance, and one of its most original geniuses. His landscapes are breathless solitudes full of tenderness, like the faces of his Virgins, in whose eyes the daylight seems to be dying. Or else they are full of the surprise and wonder that are like a child's rapturous awakening to the mystery of nature.

It is this innocence, which is in reality an inspired freshness of vision, that divines this mystery in odd moments, and Sassetta's pictures bring up, out of trivial elements of a legend, situations that reveal this mystery.

In neither of the two Sassettas (Nos. 57, 58) in the Jarves Collection has the master drawn the components to a dramatic convergence. In the Temptation of St. Anthony (Fig. 30) the incident interprets the landscape, and each is like the resonance of some elemental fact. Sassetta is a very subtle artist. He has no crudities, no fatigues, and he touches

everything with a light hand. In this panel the breast of nature heaves with astonishment. There is no cry of surprise, and everything that had been disorganized by the suddenness of the apparition seems to be settling back into the governing symmetry. We can almost hear the stir of growth and the universe slowly rolling in its cycles.

A similarly calculated disposition of objects characterizes the panel by Sassetta in which St. Anthony is tormented by demons (Fig. 31). The road sweeps across the tripartite arrangement, of which the center rises to the gable of the small oratory at the hilltop. The Torment is an incident troubling a symmetry that seems always to have existed there. And this fact gives the occurrence its air of theoretic actuality, and the landscape its proper stability and original order. Even the action itself here becomes immobilized in the geometric contour of the saint on the ground and the symmetry of the group.

Giovanni di Paolo's St. Catherine before Gregory XI, which is No. 59 among the Jarves pictures (Fig. 32), fairly well represents him. In Giovanni we find a very different temper. While in Sassetta there is always a sense of mastery, of a balancing control, of long vision, Giovanni's soul is full of restlessness. His impatience grows with his years, and even his beauty seems but a smile that interrupts an incessant sense of being ill at ease. There is almost always a blind hurry in his action, a passion in his characters, that pitches them towards an unknown doom.

It is this passion absorbing him completely in his own vision that in his Baptist in the Wilderness, at the Art Institute, Chicago, becomes so fantastically poetic. Above a flat crossed and recrossed by sheets of light and shadow, steep cliffs rise in tormented masses into a flickering sky. The young Baptist, borne along by his ecstasy, scarcely touches the ground, and wafts through the voiceless dawn like a ray of hope. But for every picture of such quality there is one in which he is impulsive and uneasy. The sole panel by him in the Jarves Collection, however, manifests unwonted weight and maturity, rare among Quattrocento Sienese.

In Neroccio's Annunciation (No. 63) the Jarves Collection (Fig. 33) possesses one of the most harmonious pictures by one of the most musical of masters. It is like a song overheard, like its soft echo. The Holy Ghost rides on the irradiating breath of God towards the Virgin, and she is so deeply overcome that all the forces seem gone from her body, leaving

barely enough to sustain it. She submits so gracefully to the grace descended upon her, and with her senses still faint from the shock of the angel's announcement, she is so lovely that one could weep over her.

The blond and blue tonality, the delicate cool sky, give the picture the wonderful look of a world reflected in water. Certainly nothing can be expected to happen here to alter the complexion of things. They will remain as they are, wrapped in this timeless tranquillity, in which the frozen vehemence on the sculptured walls seems like a remote memory.

Although Neroccio is here and in these very reliefs borrowing, possibly at second hand, from Pollaiuolo and Signorelli, though he is fascinated by their concentrated and intensified movement, his temper commits him to the production of a total effect altogether different. He transforms everything to a gentler order, and the objects in his world are of a more precious material, more caressing and sparing of the senses than those of ours. He is the real forefather in taste of the English Pre-Raphaelites.*

He was also the last of the great Quattrocento Sienese. Benvenuto di Giovanni, his somewhat older contemporary, shows in his only picture at Yale (No. 64), a Madonna and Two Angels, what the ravishing art of this city was coming to, and without a Michelangelo to restore its past glory.

There remain three panels (Nos. 9, 66, and 70), each the sole representative in the Jarves Collection of its school, and each interesting for its disclosure of a local style, as well as for its kinship with the great centers discussed. Number 71, a Nativity by Girolamo da Cremona, is in some respects, particularly in its spirited fantasy, superior to any of these, and would merit extended discussion had this not been already so admirably done in the suggestive studies of Mr. Berenson (*Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, 2d Series) and Mr. Rankin (in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1895, II).

The earliest of these three pictures is a triptych (No. 9) and, as has been pointed out by Dr. Sirén, the product of a Romagnole hand, working at a distance from the great centers (Figs. 34, 34^A, 34^B). Having never seen anything quite like it, one is nevertheless willing to accept the classifica-

* Through the kindness of Mr. Joseph Widener I am able to reproduce the very nearly unique Quattrocento Sienese portrait, and perhaps the most rapturous, among female heads, in the Renaissance (Fig. 33^C).

tion on the merely negative grounds of its not belonging to any other known school. The frontality and silhouette of the Virgin; her close-fingered thumbless right hand; the long-skirted Child; the wide throne; the painted partitions dividing the episodes (see Christ scenes by a Romagnole Master at the Palazzo Venezia, Rome; Baronzio's polyptych in Urbino, and Giuliano da Rimini's altarpiece in the Gardner Museum, Boston); the equal divisions of the area—all commit one to Romagnole territory or to its artistic dependencies. On the other hand, the physical thickness, the whimsical schematization of individual shapes, the impulsive movement which precipitates the emotion and the flow of the narrative, are such a coarsening of the average Romagnole style, that one must conclude our picture was executed by some raw and facile provincial.

The Pietà (No. 70) here tentatively attributed to the Bolognese painter Lambertini is by another master, whose acknowledged works show him neither very much above nor below the mediocrity of the Jarves panel (Fig. 35): this is Giovanni di Pietro da Napoli, the collaborator in Pisa of Martino di Bartolomeo early in the fifteenth century, between 1402-1404 (see *Vasari*, ed. Sansoni, vol. I, p. 477, n. 2; *Venturi*, *Storia*, etc., Milan, 1906, vol. V, p. 758; *Salmi*, *l'Arte*, 1909, p. 158). The mixture of the two hands in their jointly executed paintings makes a clear dissociation of them difficult, and commits us to the single independent work by Giovanni, his signed fresco in the Pisa Museum, as the only safe basis for our knowledge and estimate of him (Fig. 35^A).

To this the Yale Pietà manifests clear and direct analogies. By their insistent deficiencies the two paintings yield about an equally small degree of esthetic energy. Both project the same kind of dramatic and structural vitality and exhibit similar crudities of execution. Presumably removed from each other chronologically, they both revert to the same anatomical formula, and the same diagram is used to reveal the bony structure. The same ridges and bosses are lighted in one as in the other of the two paintings, and the hollows differ only in the degree of darkness in the shadow. The folds are straight, long, and narrow, as if cut into a hard and reluctant material; and the flesh and the hair look as if they had been first worked in unmanageable stone. The shape of the cheek bones, of the tendons of the neck; the high lights of the nose, the knee, and shin of Christ; the setting of

the eyes; the forked frown; the hair; furnish isolated and evident instances of a pervading identity of style.

The range of this painter's activity is, for the present, less ascertainable than that of his genius, and his stylistic derivation must accordingly remain conjectural. If his Neapolitan origin is explicit in his signature, it is not even suggested in these two works, which bring to mind rather the western and the northern frontiers of Tuscany.

A picture releasing a more genial, freer, and quicker individual spirit is the *Madonna and Child* (Fig. 36) by Gentile da Fabriano (No. 66). It adds to the advantage of being autographed, the importance of being a fine example of Gentile's painting, and, in spite of its damaged surface, distinguishes itself as a precious possession. But for the face of the Virgin, which in the cleaning was found to be mutilated, the panel has retained much of its original character.

As has been repeatedly observed, the style approximates the Quaratesi *Madonna*, belonging to King George and at present, in 1926, on loan in the National Gallery; but also the fresco of the same subject in the Cathedral of Orvieto painted about the same time, that is, just five hundred years ago.

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FIGURE 1
TUSCAN MASTER (CA. 1250)
Fragment of Altar-frontal (detail)
YALE COLL. NO. 1



Photo. Blackmore.

See pp. 2, 9-II.

FIGURE 2
TUSCAN MASTER (CA. 1250)
Fragment of Altar-frontal (detail)

YALE COLL. NO. 1



Photo. Blackmore.

See pp. 2, 9-II.

FIGURE 3
TUSCAN MASTER (CA. 1250)
Fragment of Altar-frontal (detail)
YALE COLL. NO. 1



A SEC VIII

Photo. Alinari.

See p. 10.

FIGURE 3^A

SCHOOL OF BONAVENTURA BERLINGHIERI

Diptych (detail)

FLORENCE, ACCADEMIA DELLE BELLE ARTI NO. 175

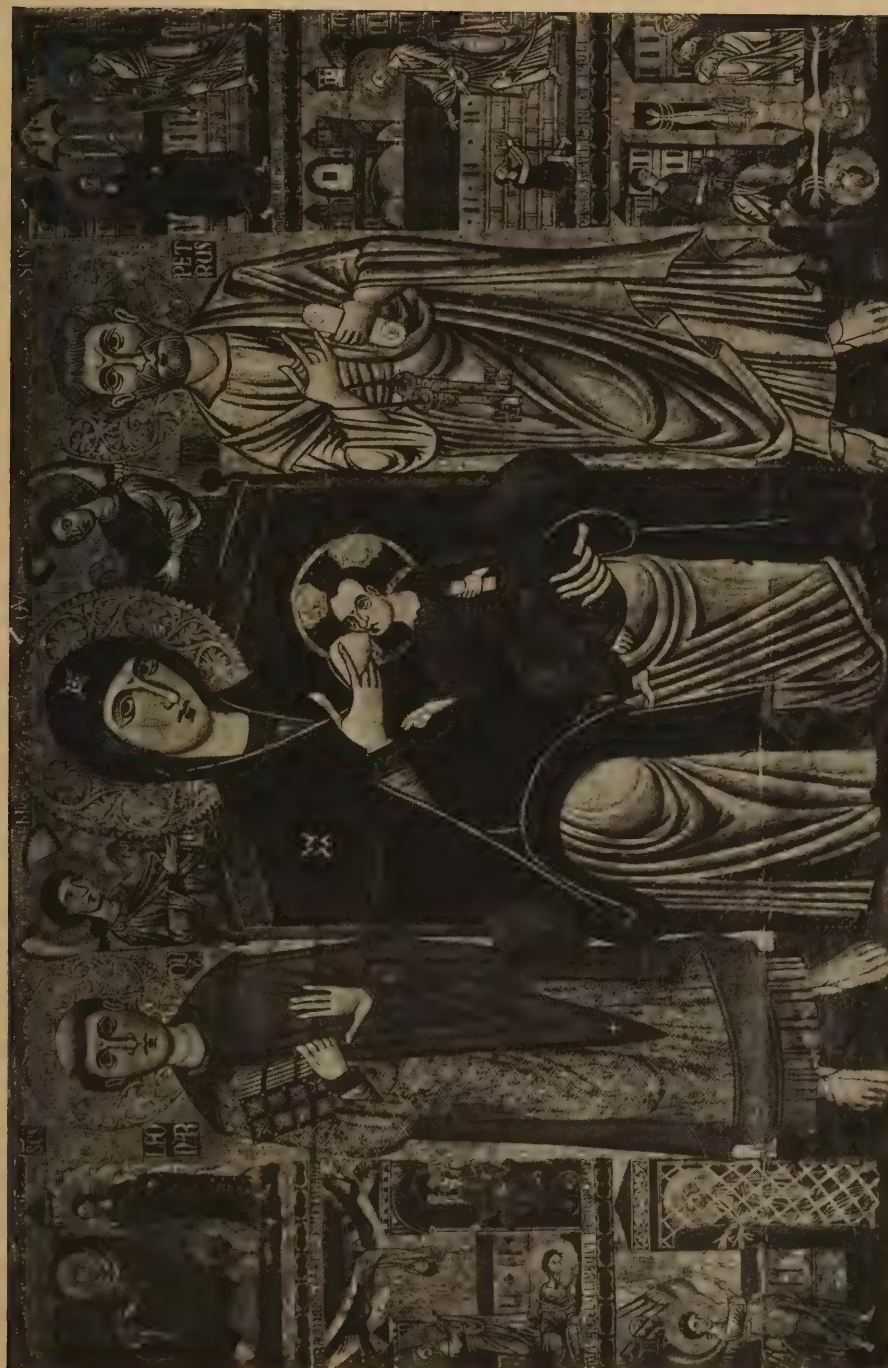


Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 4
THE MAGDALEN MASTER
Altar-frontal
YALE COLL. NO. 3

See pp. 2, II, 13.



Photo. Brogi.

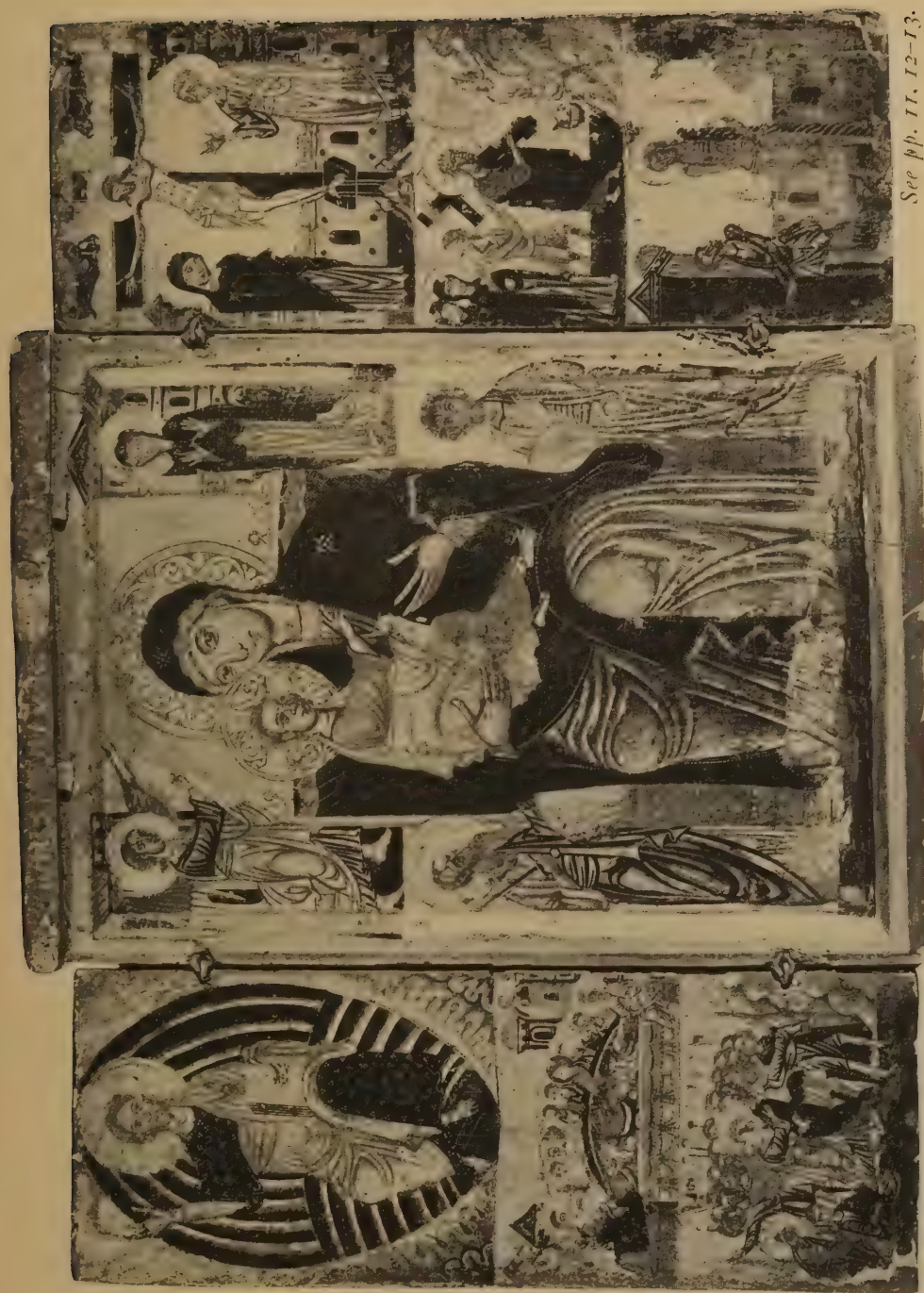
See p. 11.

FIGURE 4^A

THE MAGDALEN MASTER

The Magdalen and Scenes from Her Life

FLORENCE, ACCADEMIA DELLE BELLE ARTI NO. 8466



See pp. 11, 12-13.

FIGURE 4^B
 THE MAGDALEN MASTER
Tabernacle

NEW YORK, COLL. OF MR. AND MRS. GEORGE BLUMENTHAL



See p. II.

FIGURE 4^c
 THE MAGDALEN MASTER
Altar-frontal (detail)
 YALE COLL. NO. 3



Photo. Moore.

See p. 12.

FIGURE 4^D
THE MAGDALEN MASTER
Virgin and Two Angels
CAMBRIDGE (U.S.A.) FOGG ART MUSEUM



Photo. Giraudon.

FIGURE 4^F
THE MAGDALEN MASTER
Altar-frontal

PARIS, MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS

See p. 12.



Photo. Giraudon.

See p. 12.

FIGURE 4^G
 THE MAGDALEN MASTER
Altar-frontal (detail)
 PARIS, MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS



Photo. Reali.

See p. II.

FIGURE 4^H
THE MAGDALEN MASTER

Altarpiece (detail)

FLORENCE, ACCADEMIA DELLE BELLE ARTI NO. 8466



Photo. Uffizi.

See p. 12.

FIGURE 4^K

THE MAGDALEN MASTER

Madonna and Two Angels

COMPIOBBI, S. DONATO AI TORRI (NEAR FLORENCE)



Photo. Brogi.

See p. 12.

FIGURE 4^L
THE MAGDALEN MASTER
Fragment of Altar-frontal
FLORENCE, UFFIZI



Photo. Brogi.

See p. 12.

FIGURE 4^{L1}
 THE MAGDALEN MASTER
Fragment of Altar-frontal
 FLORENCE, UFFIZI



Photo. Brogi.

See p. 12.

FIGURE 4^M
THE MAGDALEN MASTER
Madonna and Two Angels
FLORENCE, MR. ARTHUR ACTON



Photo. Brogi.

See p. 12.

FIGURE 4^N

THE MAGDALEN MASTER

Virgin, Saints and Angels

FLORENCE, MR. ARTHUR ACTON



Photo. Reali.

See p. 11.

FIGURE 4^{N1}

THE MAGDALEN MASTER

Altar-frontal (detail)

FLORENCE, ACCADEMIA DELLE BELLE ARTI NO. 8466

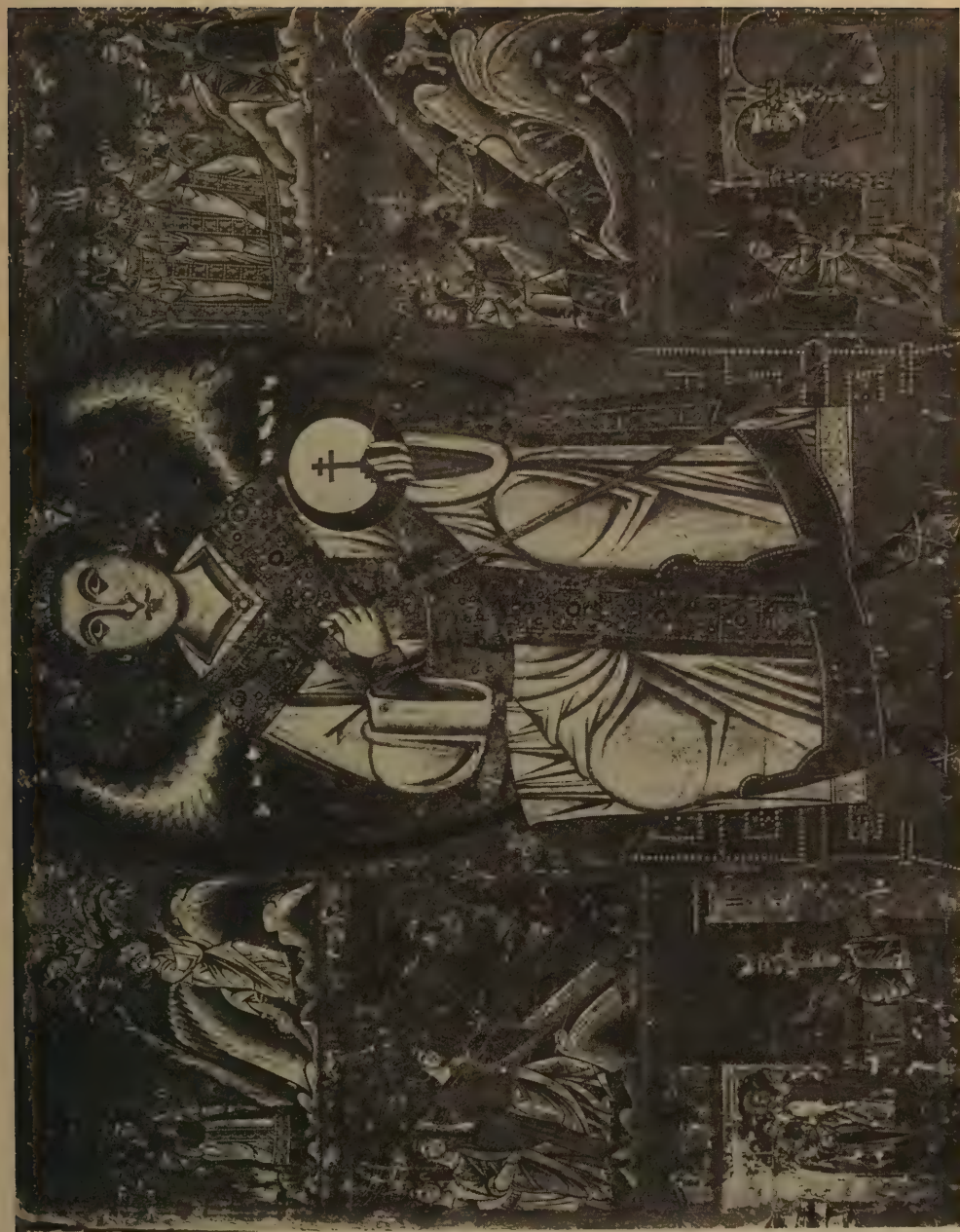


Photo. Reali.

See p. 12.

FIGURE 4^o
FLORENTINE MASTER (CA. 1250)
Altar-frontal
S. ANGELO IN VICO L'ABATE (NEAR FLORENCE)



Photo. Reali.

See p. 12.

FIGURE 4^P
FLORENTINE MASTER (CA. 1260)
PIEVE DI S. LEOLINO A PANZANO

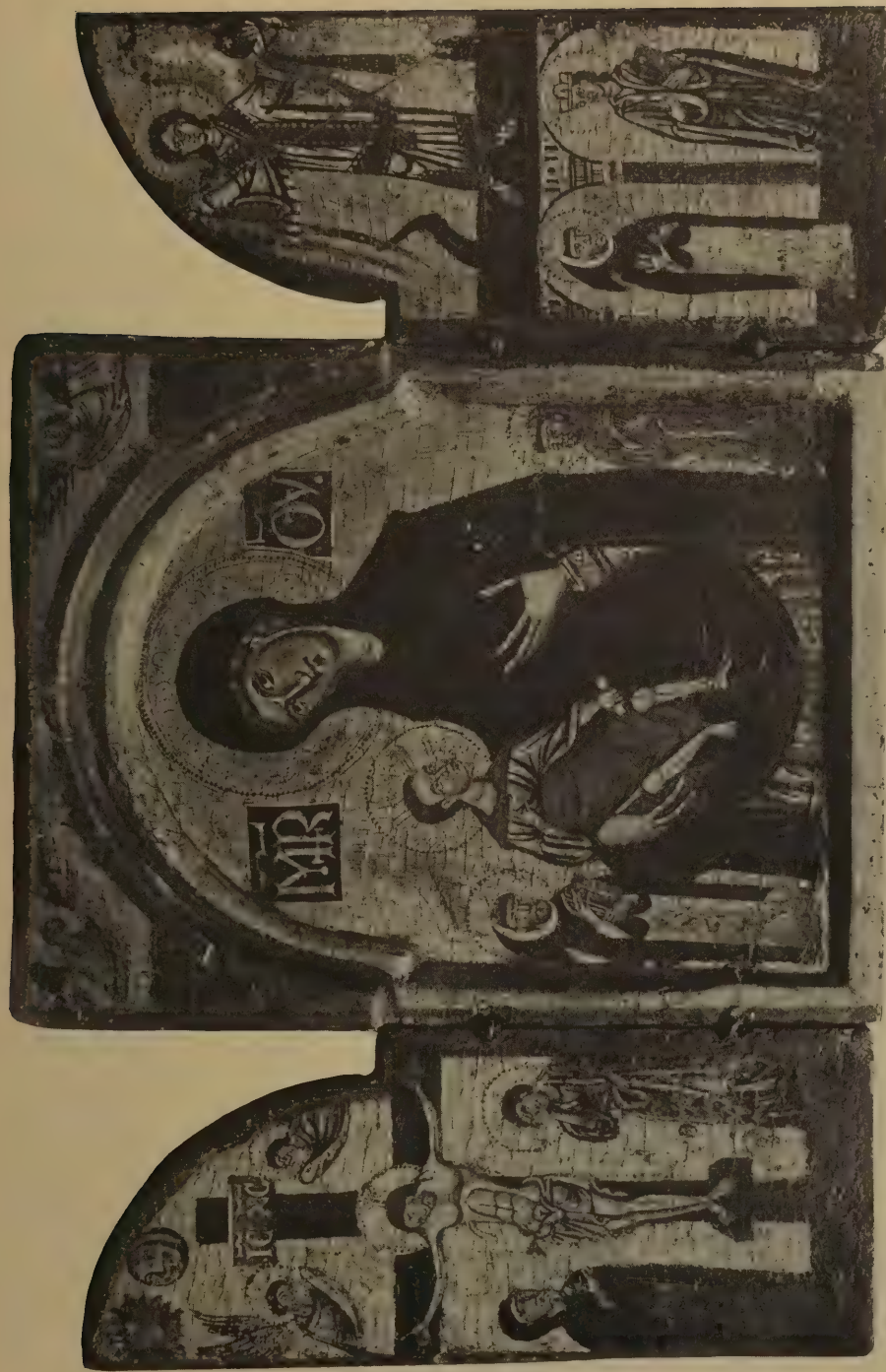


Photo. Blackmore.

See pp. 2, 13.

FIGURE 5
FLORENTINE MASTER (CA. 1270)
Tabernacle

YALE COLL. NO. 4



Photo. Lombardi.

See p. 13.

FIGURE 5^A
SIENESE MASTER (CA. 1260)
Altar-frontal of St. John (detail)

SIENA, ACCADEMIA DELLE BELLE ARTI NO. 14



Photo. Giraudon.

See p. 12.

FIGURE 5^B
THE MAGDALEN MASTER
Altar-frontal (detail: Nativity)
PARIS, MUSÉE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS



Photo. M. Offner.

See pp. 3, 16.

FIGURE 6
BERNARDO DADDI
The Vision of St. Dominic
YALE COLL. NO. 6

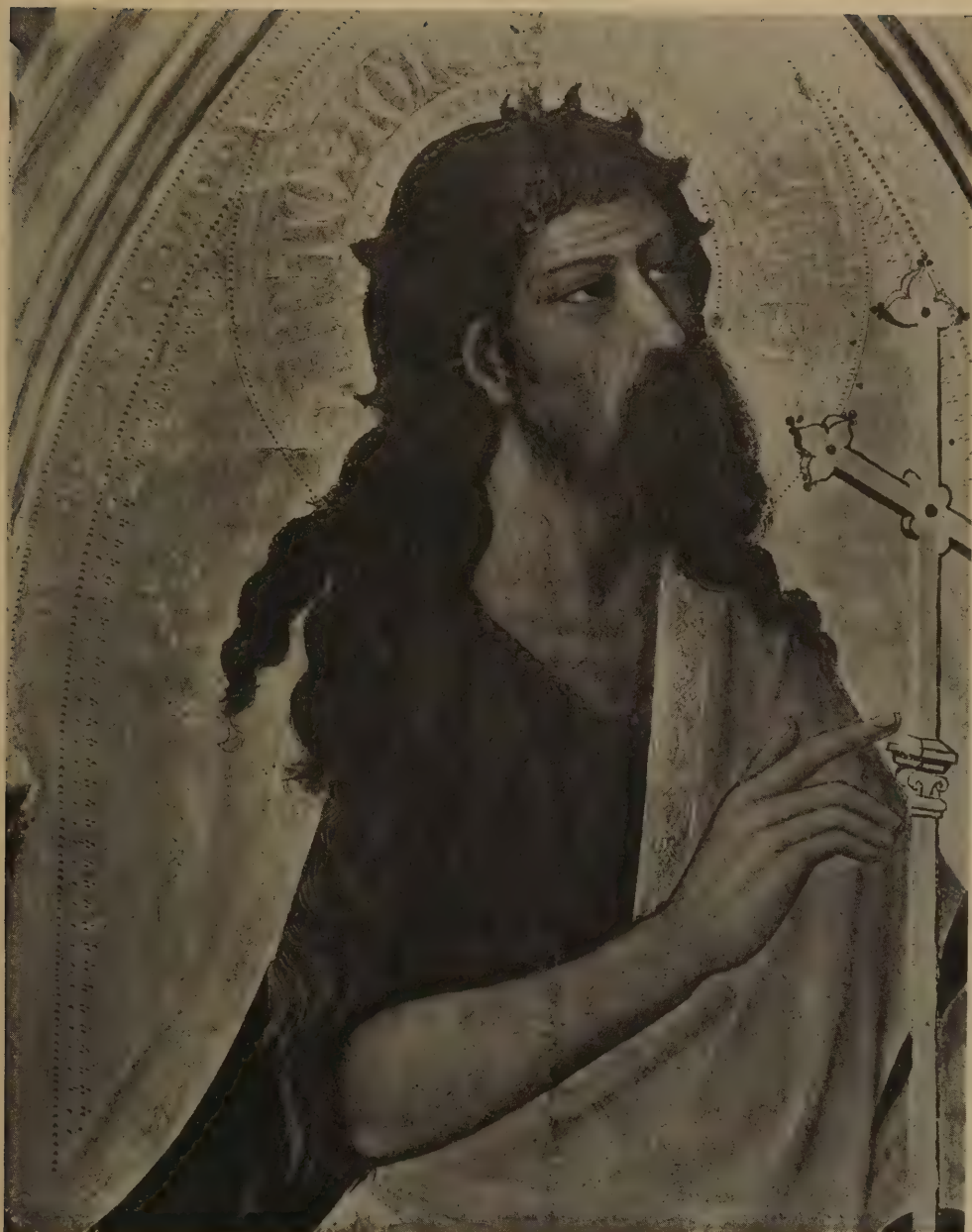


Photo. Blackmore.



See pp. 3, 16.

FIGURE 7
NARDO DI CIONE
The Baptist and S. Peter
YALE COLL. NOS. 13, 14

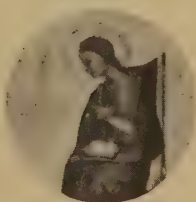


See pp. 3, 16.

FIGURE 7^A
NARDO DI CIONE
St. John the Baptist (detail)
YALE COLL. NO. 14



Photo. M. Ofner.



See p. 17.

FIGURE 8
FLORENTINE PAINTER
(END OF FOURTEENTH
CENTURY)

Adoration of the Magi

YALE COLL. NO. 15



See p. 17.

FIGURE 8^A
FLORENTINE PAINTER (END OF FOURTEENTH CENTURY)
The Adoration of the Magi (lower portion)
YALE COLL. NO. 15



Photo. Blackmore.

See pp. 18-19.

FIGURE 9
GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO
Christ and the Virgin Enthroned
YALE COLL. NO. 19



Photo. Reali.

FIGURE 9^{A1}
GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO
Triptych (detail)

FLORENCE, ACCADEMIA DELLE BELLE ARTI

See p. 18.



Photo. Reali.

See p. 18.

FIGURE 9^B
GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO
Madonna and Child (detail)
FLORENCE, S. FELICITA



Photo. Blackmore.

See pp. 3, 19.

FIGURE 10
TADDEO GADDI
The Entombment
YALE COLL. NO. 8



Photo. Blackmore.

See pp. 19-20.

FIGURE 11

FOLLOWER OF AGNOLO GADDI
Polyptych, Madonna, Angels and Saints
 YALE COLL. NO. 22



Photo. Brugi.

FIGURE 11^A

NICCOLO DI PIETRO GERINI AND AMBROGIO DI BALDESE
Foundlings Restored to Their Mothers
 FLORENCE, IL BIGALLO, STANZA DEL CONSIGLIO

See pp. 19-20.



Photo. M. Ofner.

See pp. 5, 21.

FIGURE 12
LORENZO MONACO
The Crucifixion
YALE COLL. NO. 24



Photo, Blackmore.

FIGURE 13
 PAOLO DI STEFANO?
The Garden of Love (left half)
 YALE COLL. NO. 67

See pp. 5, 22-27.

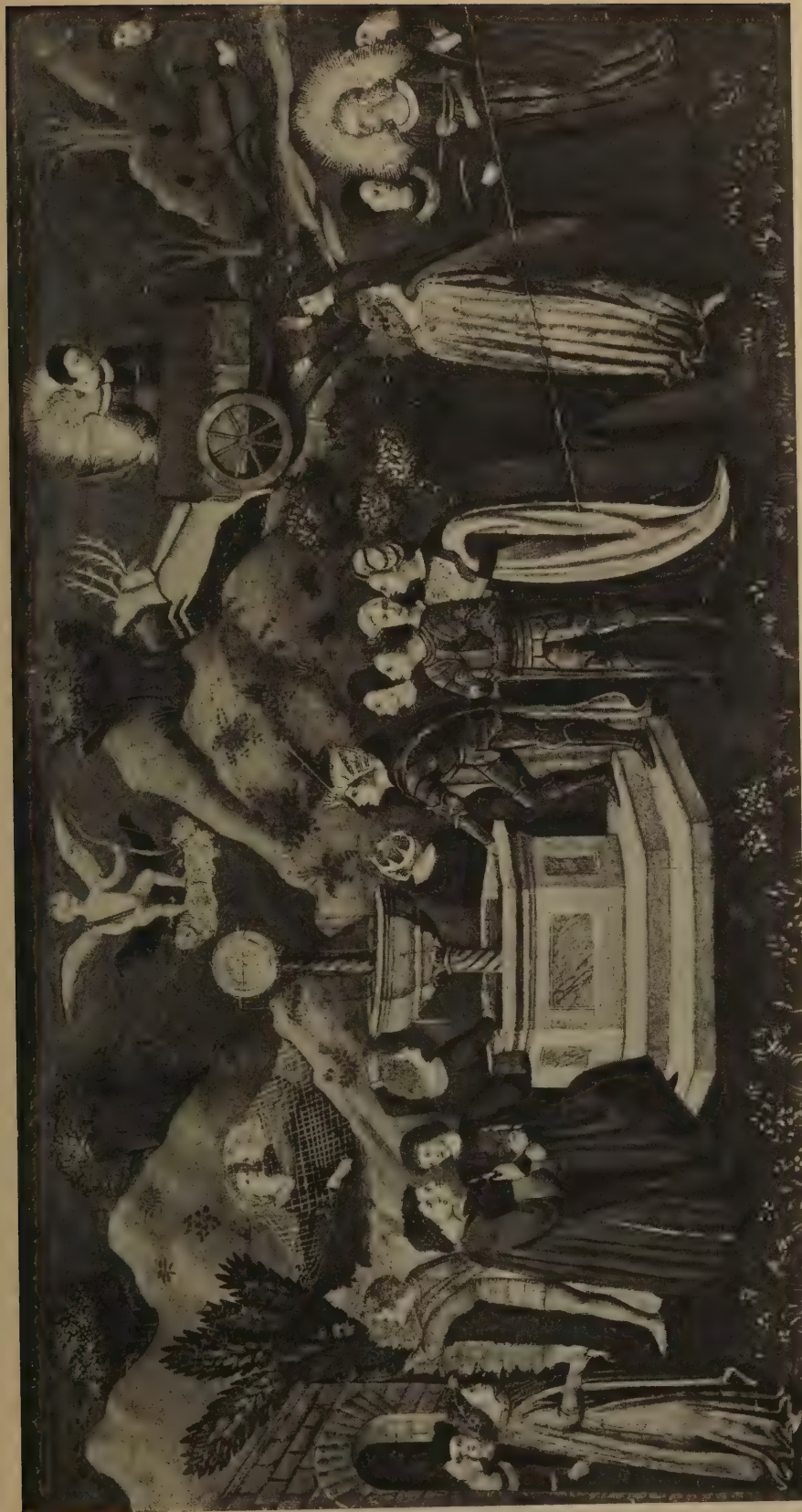


Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 14
 PAOLO DI STEFANO?
The Garden of Love (right half)
 YALE COLL. NO. 67

See pp. 5, 22-27.



See pp. 5, 22-27.

FIGURE 14^A
PAOLO DI STEFANO?
The Garden of Love (detail)
YALE COLL. NO. 67



Photo. Brogi.

FIGURE 14^B
MASOLINO

The Raising of Tabitha (detail)

FLORENCE, S. MARIA DEL CARMINE

See p. 24.



Photo. Brogi.

FIGURE 14^c
MASOLINO
The Banquet of Herod (detail)
CASTIGLIONE D'OLONA, BAPTISTRY

See p. 24.

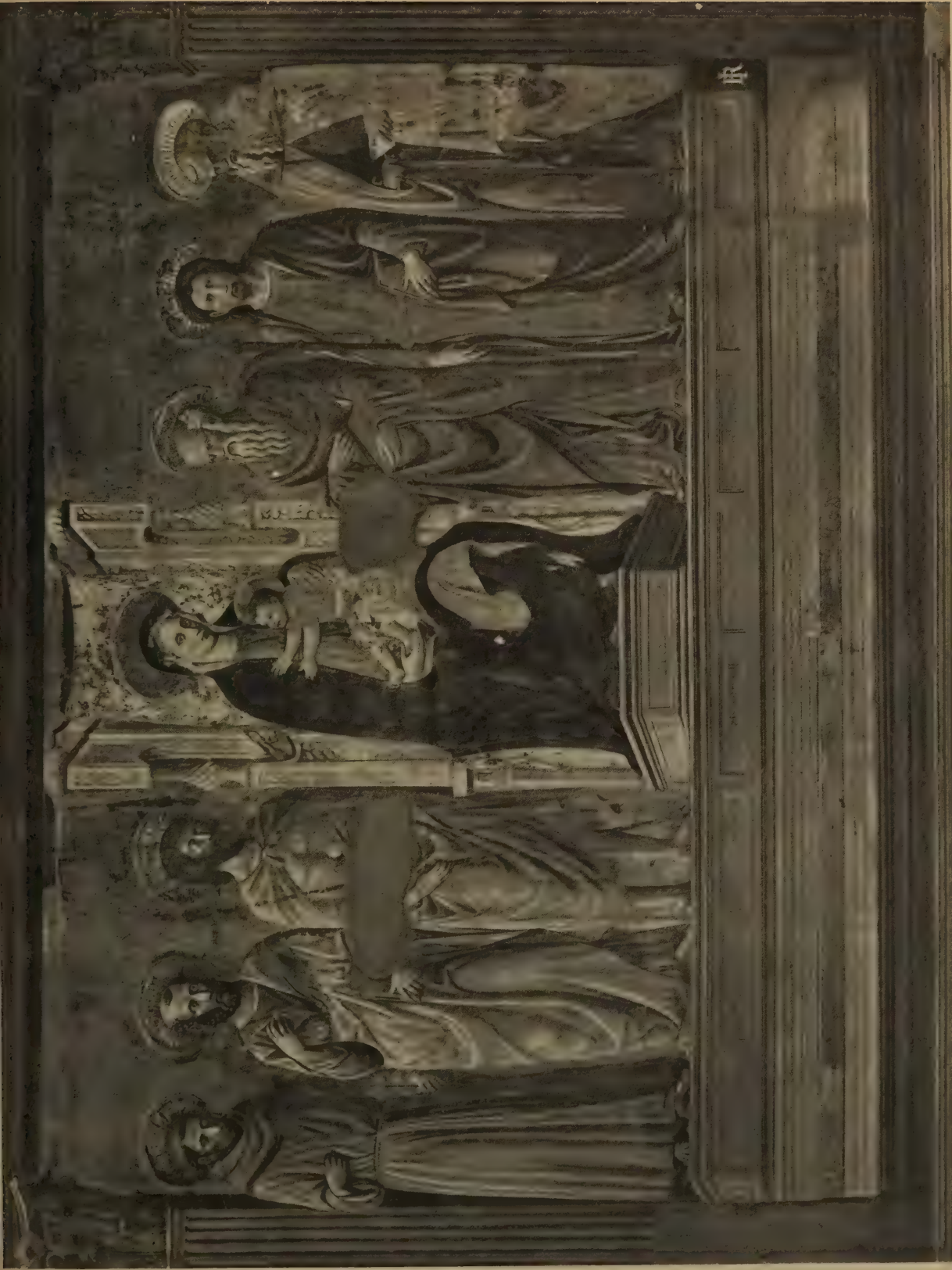


Photo. Brogi.

FIGURE 14^D

PAOLO DI STEFANO

Fresco: Madonna and Saints

FLORENCE, S. MINIATO

See p. 25.



Photo. Brogi.

FIGURE 14^E

PAOLO DI STEFANO

Fresco: The Crucifixion

FLORENCE, CONVENT OF S. APOLLONIA

See p. 25.



Photo. Brogi.

See p. 25.

FIGURE 14^F
PAOLO DI STEFANO
Fresco: Two Saints
FLORENCE, S. MINIATO



Photo. Brogi.

See p. 25.

FIGURE 14^G
PAOLO DI STEFANO
Madonna and Two Angels
(Ruined Fresco on Façade)
FLORENCE, SS. APOSTOLI



Photo. Alinari.

FIGURE 14^{H₂}

PAOLO DI STEFANO

The Annunciation and Saints (right half)
(Street Tabernacle)

CASTELLO (NEAR FLORENCE)

See p. 25.

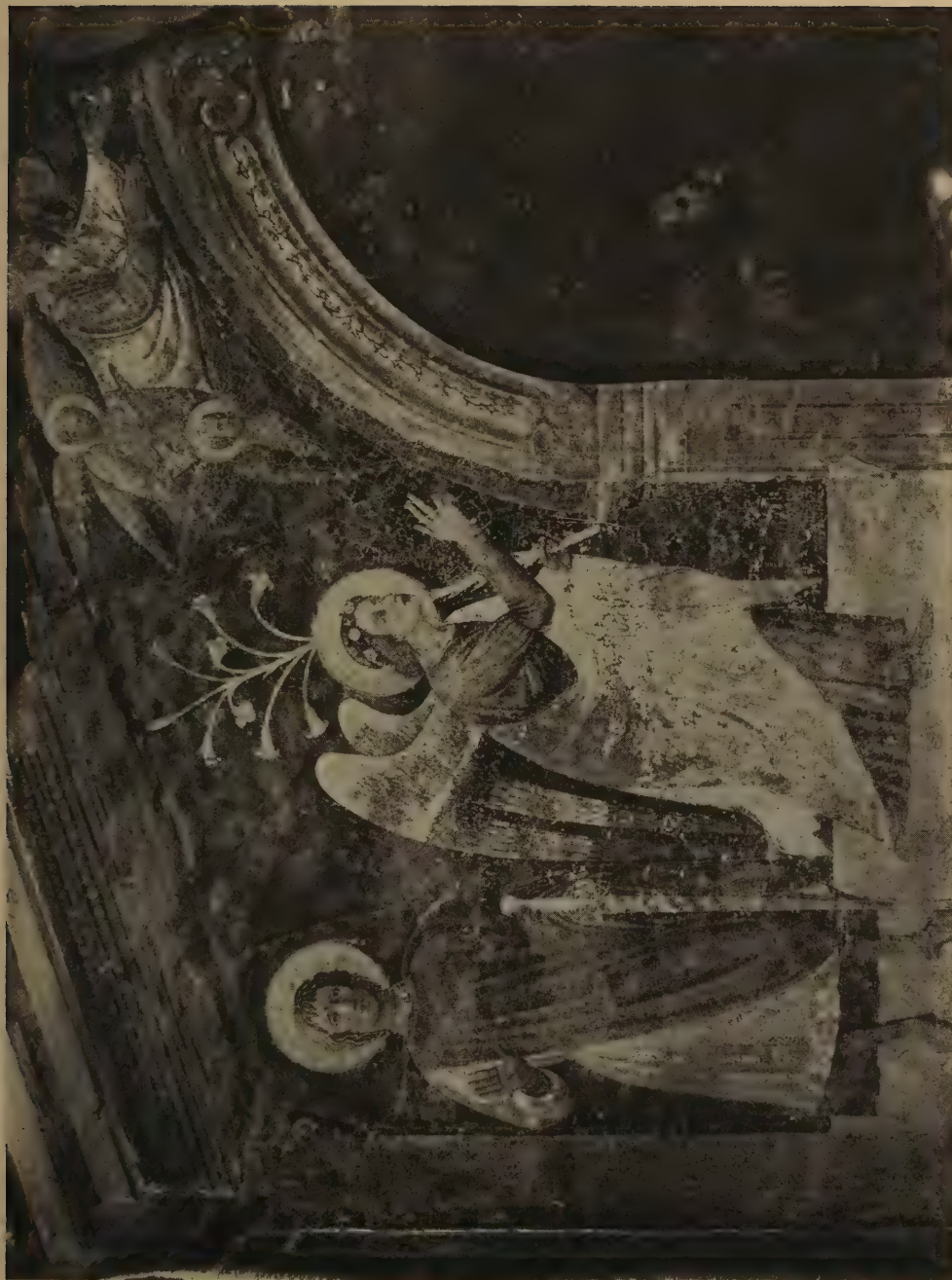


Photo. Alinari.

FIGURE 14^{H1}

PAOLO DI STEFANO

The Annunciation and Saints (left half)
(Street Tabernacle)

CASTELLO (NEAR FLORENCE)

See p. 25.



Photo. K. F. M.

See p. 25.

FIGURE 14^K

PAOLO DI STEFANO

The Annunciation

BERLIN, KAISER-FRIEDRICH MUSEUM NO. 1136



Photo. Blackmore.

See pp. 6, 27-30.

FIGURE 15

THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER

A Tournament in the Piazza S. Croce, Florence (left half)

YALE COLL. NO. 33



Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 16

THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER

A Tournament in the Piazza S. Croce, Florence (right half)

YALE COLL. NO. 33

See pp. 6, 27-30.



Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 17

THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER

Cassone-front with Scenes from The Aeneid (left half)

YALE COLL. NO. 34

See pp. 6, 27-30.



Photo. Blackmore.

See pp. 6, 27-30.

FIGURE 18
THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER
Cassone-front with Scenes from The Aeneid (right half)
YALE COLL. NO. 34



Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 19
THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER
Cassone-front with Scenes from The Aeneid (left half)
YALE COLL. NO. 35

See pp. 6, 27-30.



Photo. Blackmore.

See pp. 6, 27-30.

FIGURE 20
THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER
Cassone-front with Scenes from The Aeneid (right half)
YALE COLL. NO. 35



Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 21
THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER
The Meeting of Solomon and Sheba (left half)

YALE COLL. NO. 36

See pp. 6, 27-30.

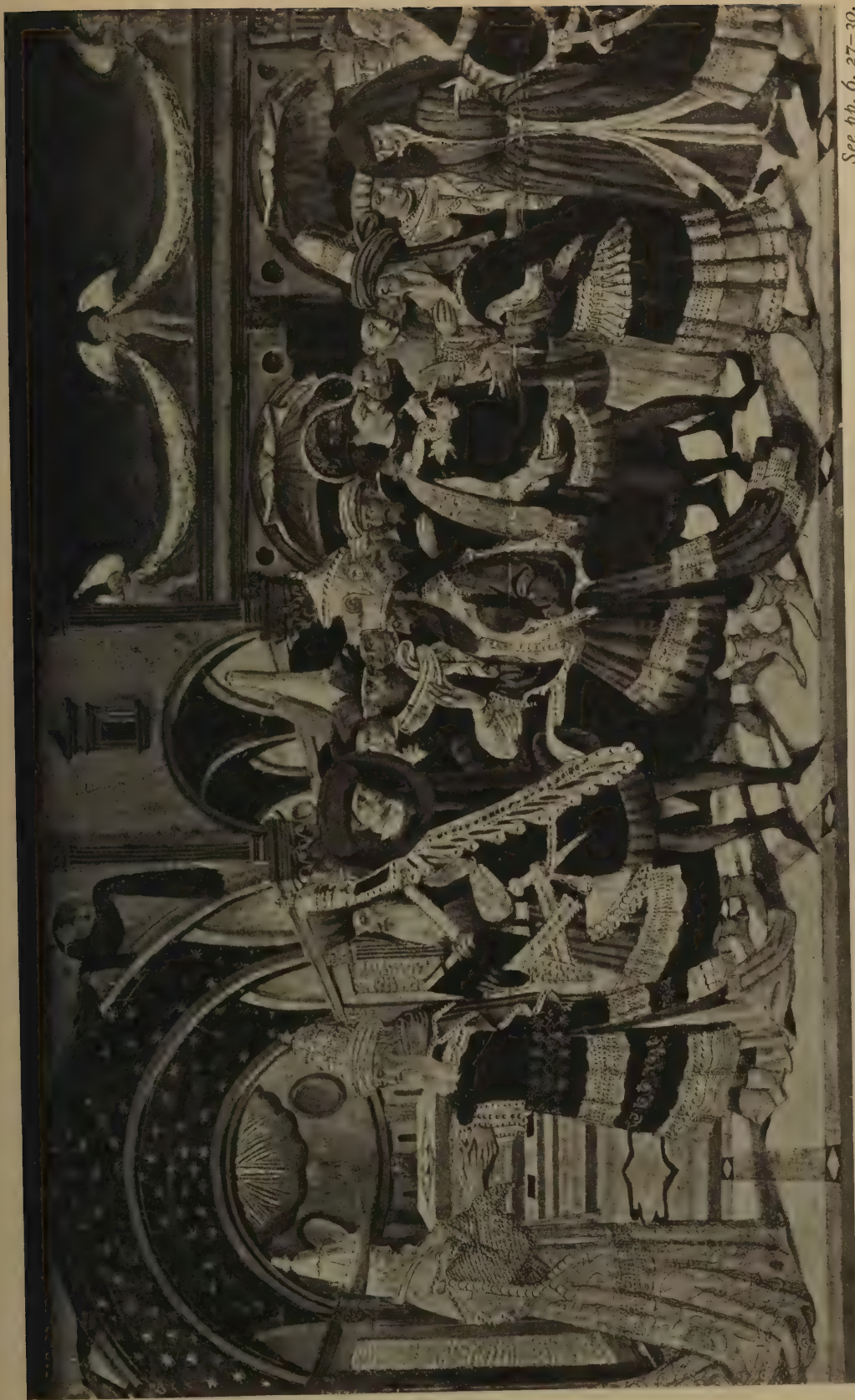


Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 22
THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER
The Meeting of Solomon and Sheba (right half)
YALE COLL. NO. 36

See pp. 6, 27-30.



Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 22^A

THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER

The Meeting of Solomon and Sheba (detail)

YALE COLL. NO. 36

See pp. 6, 27-30.



See pp. 6, 27-30.

FIGURE 22^B

THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER

The Meeting of Solomon and Shcba (detail)

YALE COLL. NO. 36



Photo. Moore.

See p. 28.

FIGURE 22^c

THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER

Virgin with Four Angels

CAMBRIDGE (U.S.A.), FOGG MUSEUM NO. 30



See p. 30.

FIGURE 22^D
 THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER
Virgin and Two Angels
 LOS ANGELES, MR. DAN MURPHY

1111111111



Photo. Ashmolean Museum.

See p. 30.

FIGURE 22^E
 THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER
A Tumbler Performing (fragment)
 OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM NO. 92



Photo. Ashmolean Museum.

FIGURE 22^F
THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER
The Murder of Julius Caesar
OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

See p. 30.

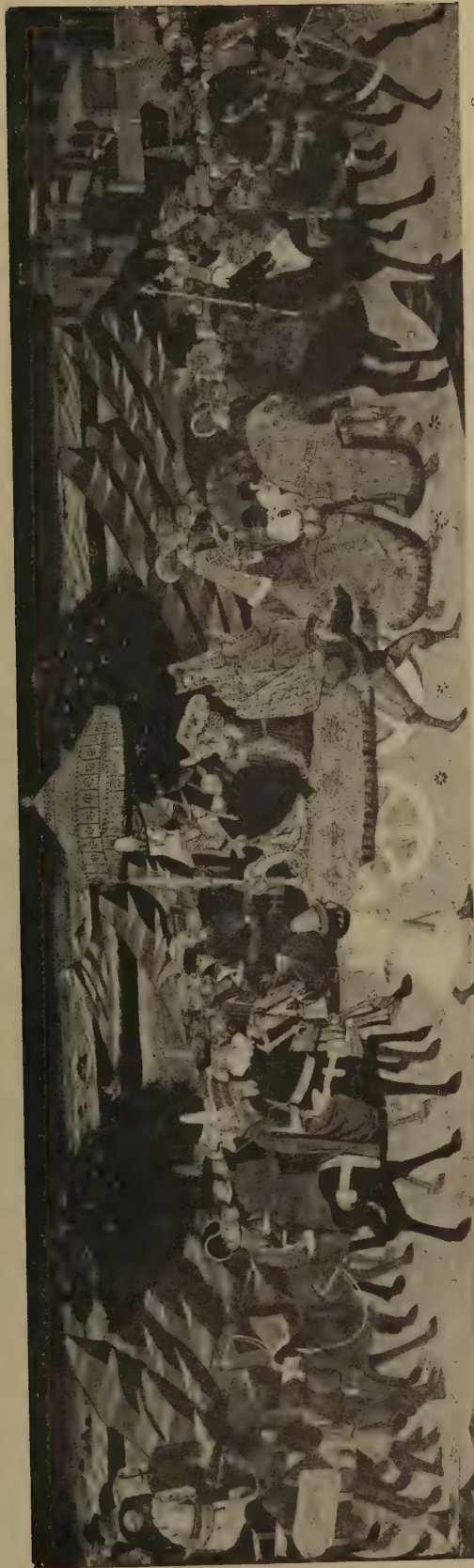


Photo. Moore.

See p. 30.

FIGURE 22^G

THE SHOP OF THE VIRGIL MASTER

A Triumphal Procession

BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

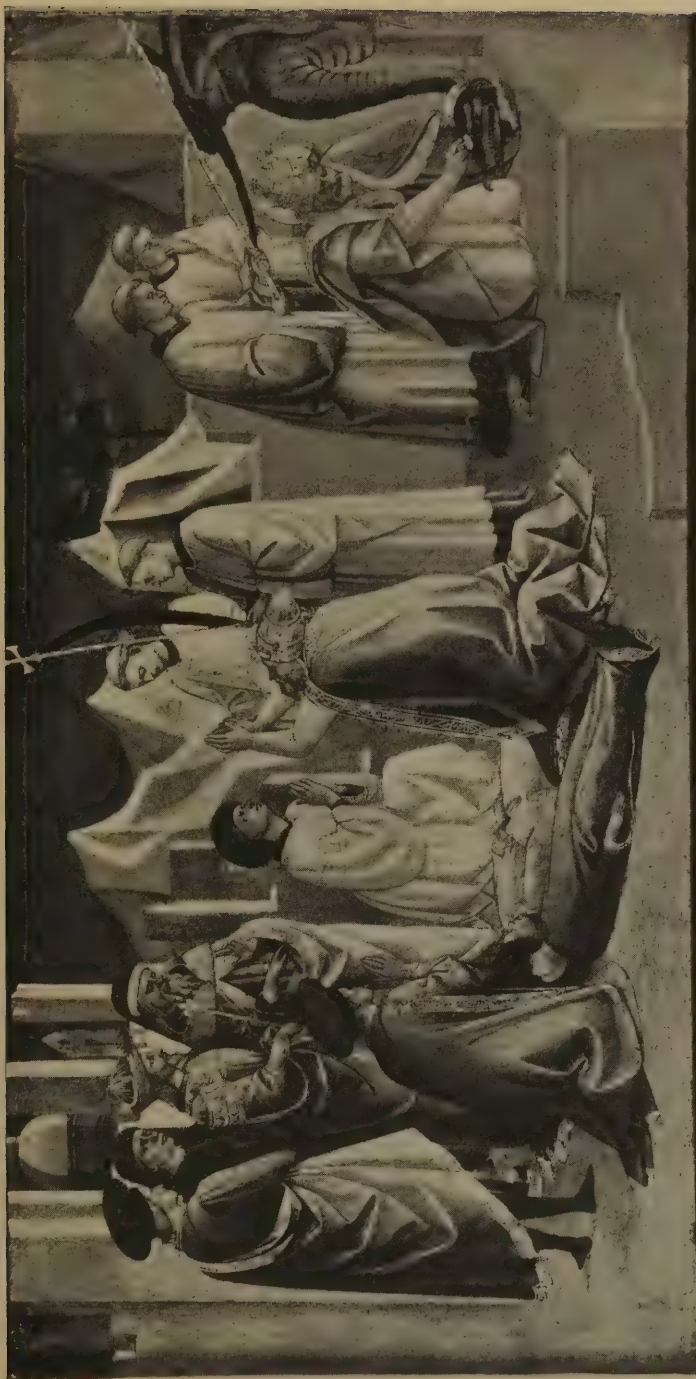


Photo. Alinari.

FIGURE 22^H

PESELLINO

Two Miracles of Pope Sylvester

ROME, PALAZZO DORIA

See p. 29.

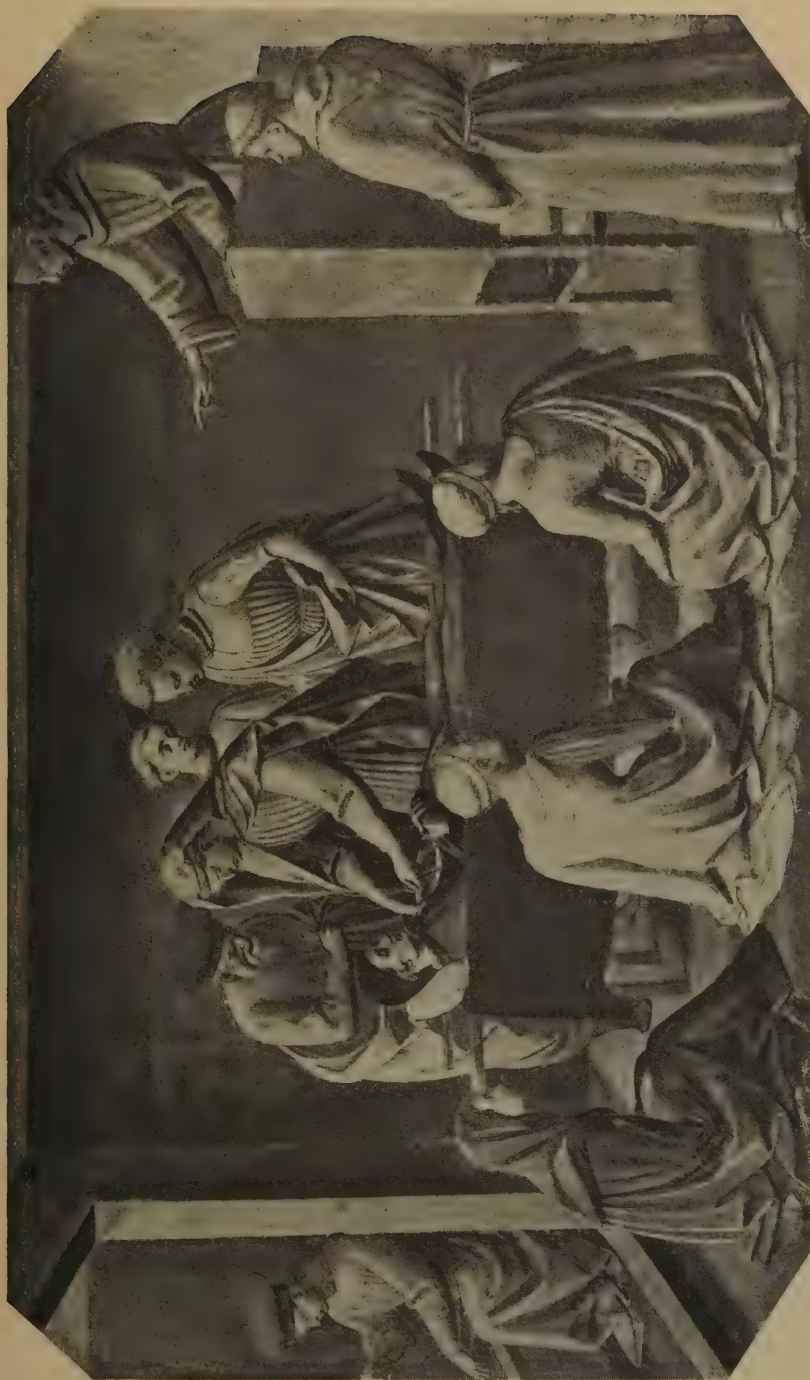


Photo. Alinari.

See p. 29.

FIGURE 22^K

PESELLINO

A Miracle of St. Anthony of Padua

FLORENCE, UFFIZI

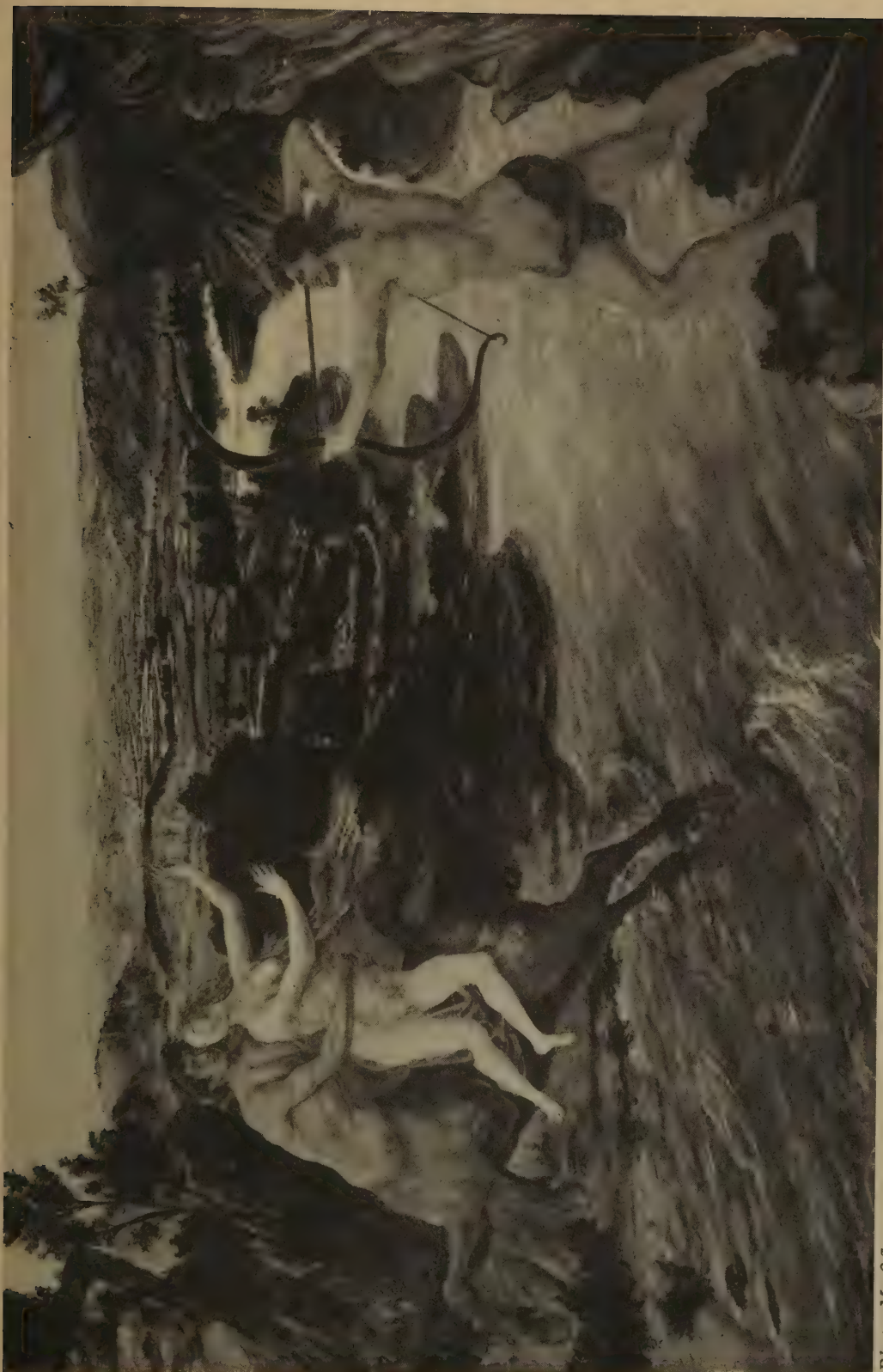


Photo. M. Offner.

See pp. 6, 30-33.

FIGURE 23
ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO (ASSISTED)
The Rape of Deianeira
YALE COLL. NO. 42



Photo. Anderson.

See p. 32.

FIGURE 23^A

ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO

Apollo and Daphne

LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY NO. 928



Photo. Brogi.



See p. 33.

FIGURE 23^M
ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO
Two Labors of Hercules
FLORENCE, UFFIZI

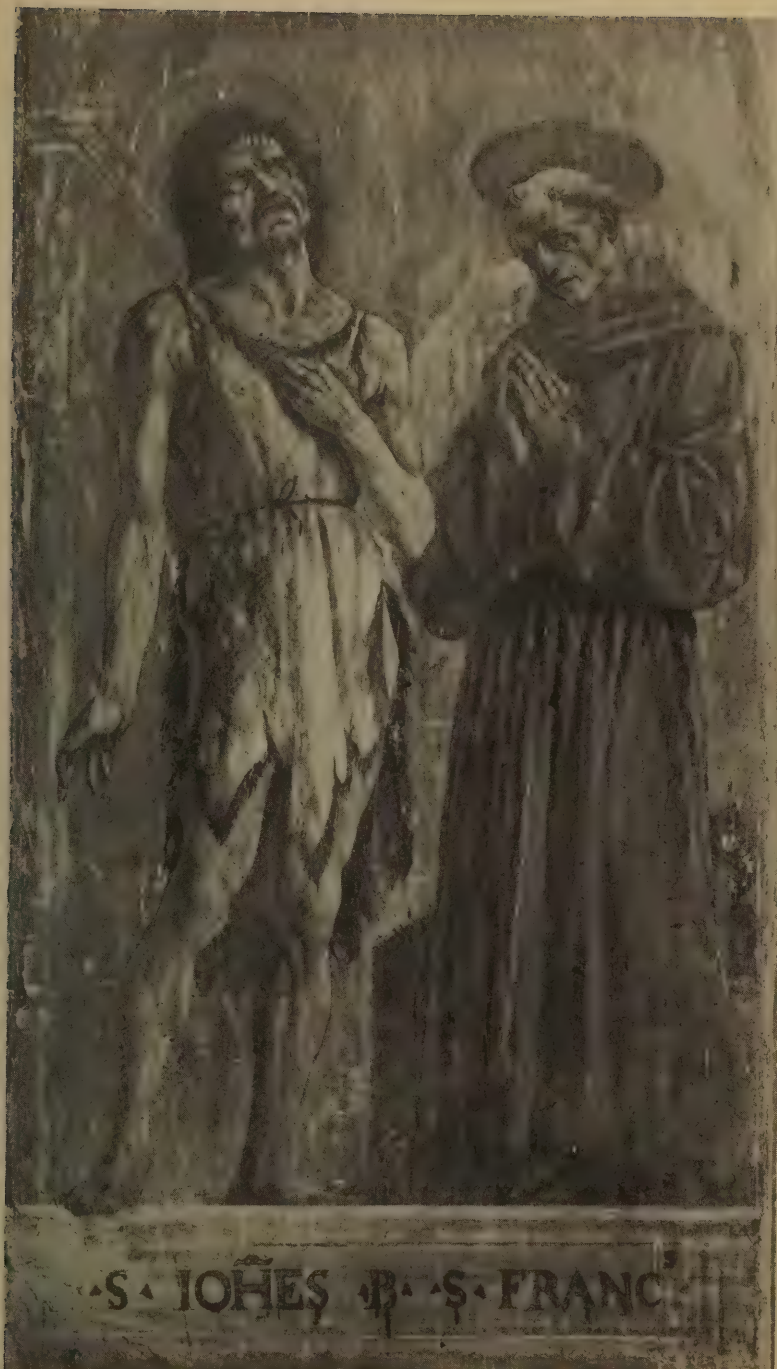


Photo. Brogi.

See p. 33.

FIGURE 23^c

DOMENICO VENEZIANO

St. John the Baptist and St. Francis

FLORENCE, S. CROCE



Photo. Brogi.

See p. 33.

FIGURE 23^D
ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO
Dancing Nudes (fresco)
FLORENCE, TORRE DEL GALLO

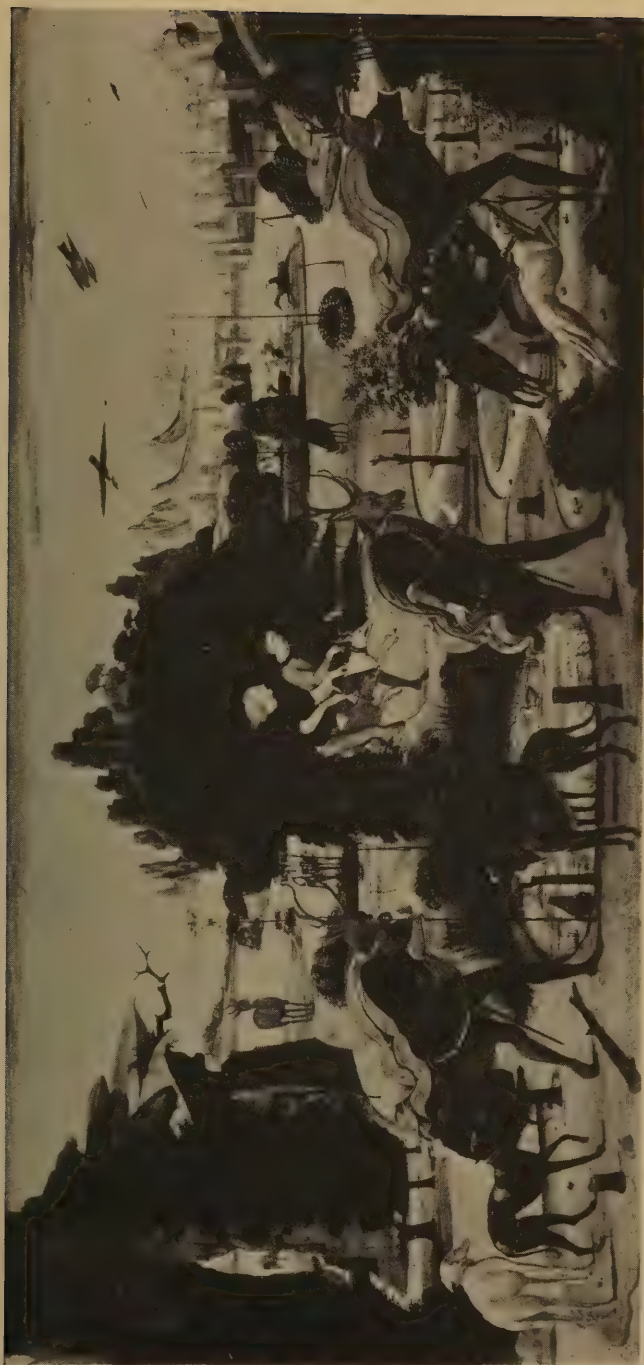


Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 24
JACOPO DEL SELLAIO?
Episodes from the Legend of Acteon
YALE COLL. NO. 48

See pp. 7, 35.



Photo. M. Ofner.

See pp. 8, 36.

FIGURE 25
PIERO DI COSIMO
Portrait of a Lady
YALE COLL. NO. 72



See pp. 2, 37.

FIGURE 26

SHOP OF GUIDO DA SIENA

The Crucifixion

YALE COLL. NO. 2

Photo. M. Offner.

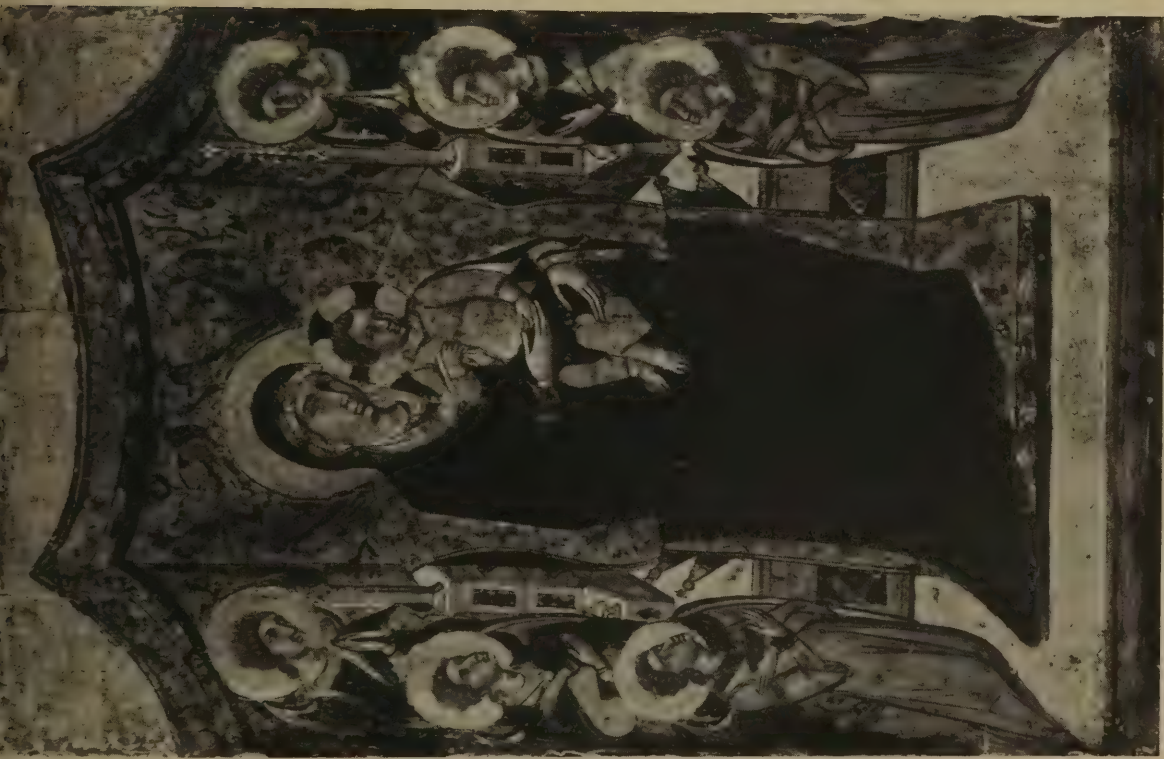


Photo. M. Ofner.



See pp. 4, 38.

FIGURE 27
FOLLOWER OF DUCCIO
Diptych
YALE COLL. NO. 10



Photo. M. Ofner.

See pp. 4, 38.

FIGURE 28
LIPPO VANNI
St. Martin and the Beggar

YALE COLL. NO. 11



Photo. M. Offner.

See pp. 4-5, 38-39.

FIGURE 29
LUCA DI TOMMÉ
The Assumption
YALE COLL. NO. 12



See pp. 4-5, 38-39.

FIGURE 29^A
LUCA DI TOMMÉ
The Assumption (detail)
YALE COLL. NO. 12

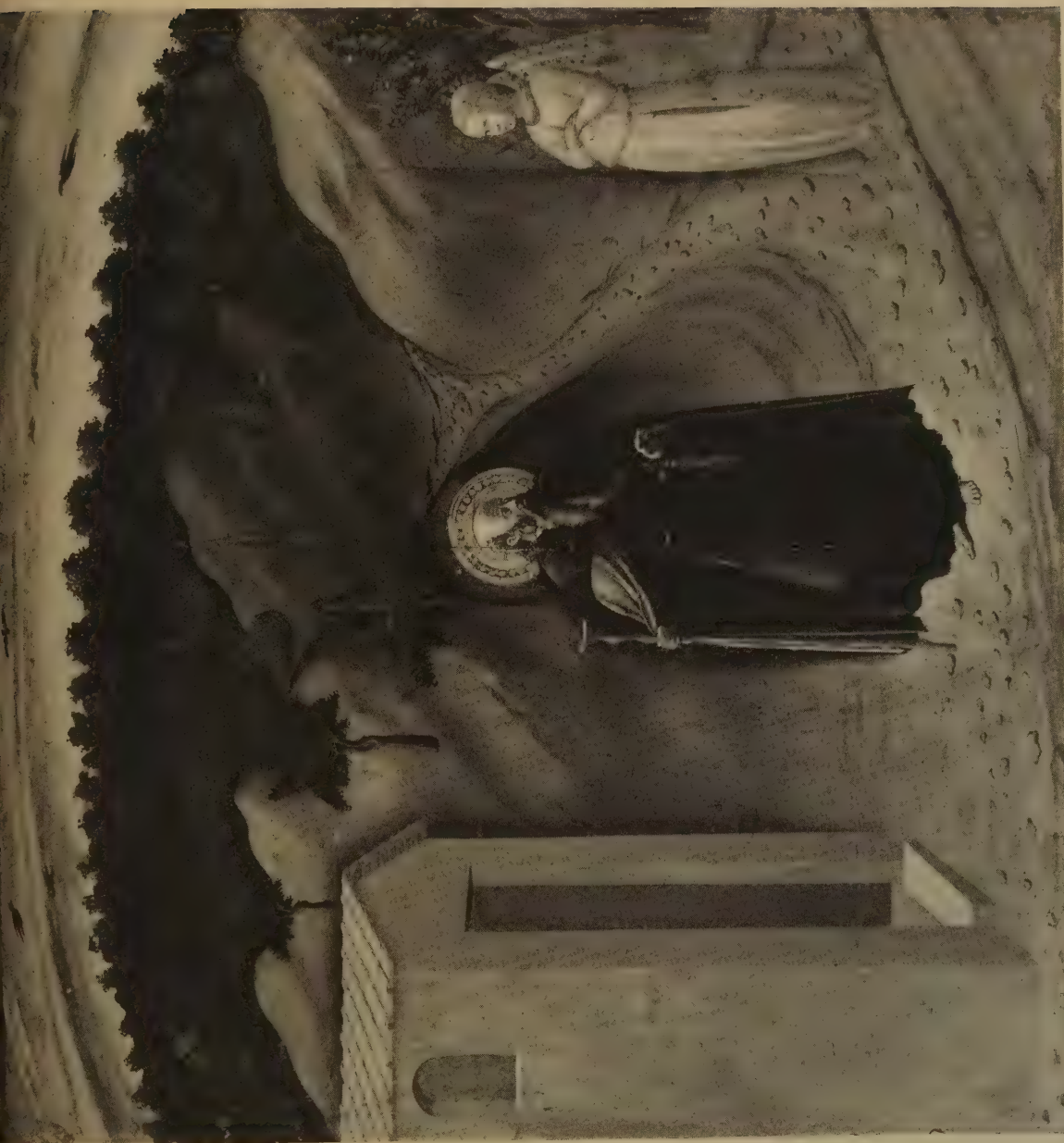


Photo. M. Ofner.

See pp. 7, 39-40.

FIGURE 30

SASSETTA

The Temptation of St. Anthony

YALE COLL. NO. 57



Photo. M. Ofner.

See pp. 7, 40.

FIGURE 31

SASSETTA

St. Anthony Tormented by Demons

YALE COLL. NO. 58

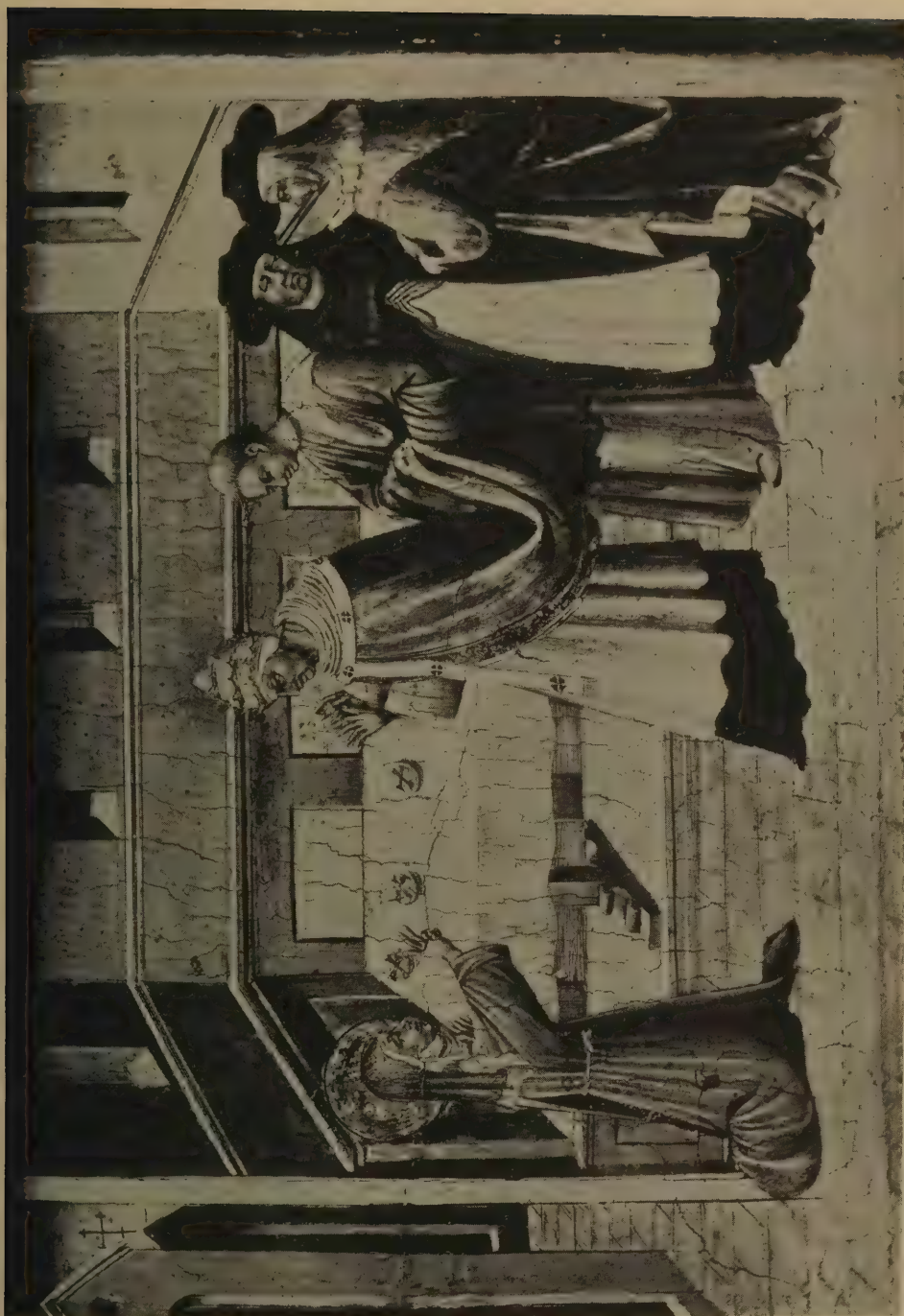


Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 32

GIOVANNI DI PAOLO

St. Catherine before Gregory XI

YALE COLL. NO. 59

See p. 40.



See pp. 4, 7, 40-41.

FIGURE 33^A

NEROCCIO

The Annunciation (detail)

YALE COLL. NO. 63



See pp. 4, 7, 40-41.

FIGURE 33^B

NEROCCIO

The Annunciation (detail)

YALE COLL. NO. 63



Photo. Reali.

See p. 41.

FIGURE 33^c
NEROCCIO

Portrait of a Young Woman

PHILADELPHIA, COLLECTION OF MR. JOSEPH WIDENER

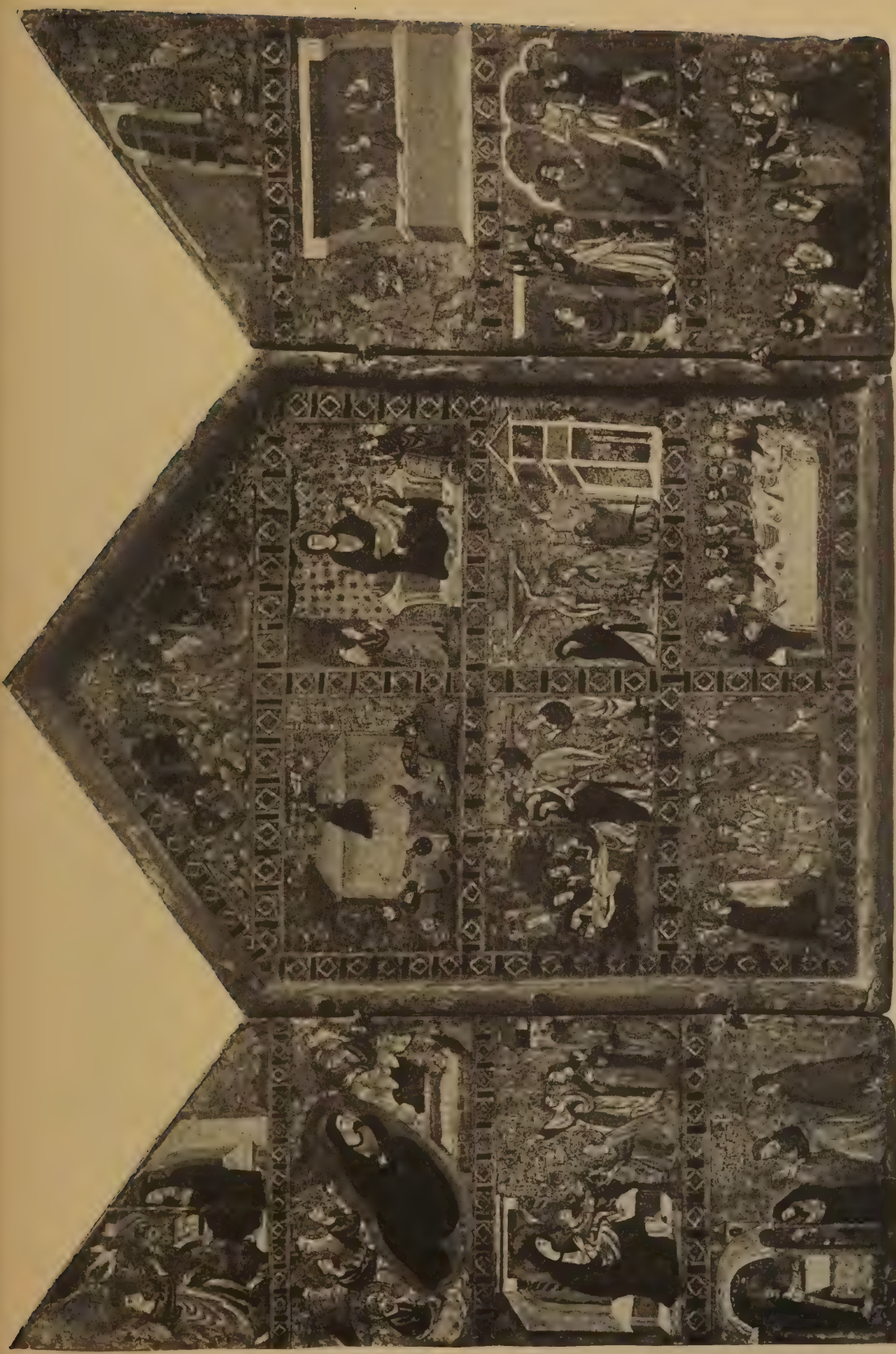


Photo. Blackmore.

FIGURE 34
ROMAGNOLE PAINTER (CA. 1350)
Triptych

YALE COLL., NO. 9

See pp. 41-42.



See pp. 41-42.

FIGURE 34^A
ROMAGNOLE PAINTER (CA. 1350)
Triptych (detail)

YALE COLL. NO. 9



See pp. 41-42.

FIGURE 34^B
 ROMAGNOLE PAINTER (CA. 1350)
Triptych (detail)
 YALE COLL. NO. 9



Photo. Blackmore.

See pp. 42-43.

FIGURE 35
GIOVANNI DI PIETRO DA NAPOLI
The Pietà
YALE COLL. NO. 70



Photo. Brogi.

See pp. 42-43.

FIGURE 35^A
GIOVANNI DI PIETRO DA NAPOLI
Fresco: The Crucifixion
PISA, MUSEO CIVICO



Photo. M. Ofner.

See pp. 7, 43.

FIGURE 36
GENTILE DA FABRIANO
Madonna and Child
YALE COLL. NO. 66

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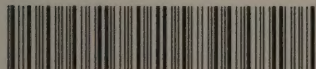
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Offner, Richard. 188

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